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ISAAC GRAHAM

Prominently mentioned in "The Journal of a Crazy Man."
From *The Early Days of California,* by J. T. Farnham, Philadelphia, 1860.

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Quarterly

VOLUME XV NUMBER 2

JUNE 1936

THE JOURNAL OF A "CRAZY MAN"

Travels and Scenes in California from the Year 1834 to the American Conquest

THE NARRATIVE OF ALBERT FERDINAND MORRIS

EDITED BY CHARLES L. CAMP

FOREWORD

ALBERT FERDINAND MORRIS, after nine years spent at sea, landed in California in 1834 at the age of twenty-six. As might have been expected of an adventurous youngster, he threw himself in with the boldest and most active spirits of the day, the American overland trappers and settlers at Los Angeles and Monterey. Every enterprise he joined came to a near-tragic end, misfortune and hardship dogged his heels, and if in the end he was not really crazy, he surely had the best possible excuse for being so.

The circumstances of his birth and of his death are still mysterious. All we really know are these glowing accounts of his first nineteen years in California. Bancroft and Farnham have made of him a British subject—a descendant of a former Governor-General of Nova Scotia, or was it New Brunswick? He calls himself a "cosmopolite" and then an "Englishman" in answer to an impertinent question from a drunken rowdy. He evidently told Farnham that he was English, yet a note on a manuscript which came from his own nephew says that he was born at Sterling, Massachusetts, on December 22, 1808! And throughout his narratives he refers to both Britons and Americans as his "countrymen."

There appears to be only one certain record of an English vessel on the coast in 1834. A number of American vessels, however, landed in that year. May it not be supposed that Morris was a deserter from some American ship and wished to conceal his nationality? If so, why did he not also change his name?

In searching for the date, place and circumstances of Morris' death, we are again baffled. A note on the family manuscript says that he "died before 1872." Bancroft had a newspaper item which stated "that he spent the last part of his life with Harvey S. Beale, and died at Ten Mile River (Mendocino Co.?) before '72, leaving to Beal his claim of $30,000!" His grandniece tells us that the family has been unsuccessfully searching for years to find out what became of his estate.

Having failed to make much headway on Morris himself, let us turn to his manuscripts. There are three of these—all relating to the same period and all different, even in some respects contradictory. These have been labeled, for reference, MSS-A, B, and C. MS-A is the shortest, and the only one known to Bancroft. It deals almost entirely with the Graham affair and is much more complete (and accurate?) for that episode than the other two. It was copied for Bancroft and vigorously annotated by one of the members of his literary staff. It also contains pointed interpolations by the transcriber, Walter M. Fisher, including the following statement:

> The exact nature of, and the justice of this charge [of insanity] it is hard to say. . . . I am inclined to think he was perfectly sane, in the ordinary sense of that word; but, at the same time, a man of many prejudices and idiosyncrasies. He had a little learning, and that, Festus to the contrary notwithstanding, is more likely to make a man "beside himself," than much. At any rate if Morris' ordinary spoken language was in any sort made up of the turgid and centipede periods, in which his written [word] . . . abounds, it is easy to comprehend how the plainspeaking pioneers, thought him crazy. As regards the precise amount of credit to be placed in his lucubrations, it is difficult to decide. From the fact, however, of this pamphlet being intended for publicaton, while Graham, and most of the prisoners were yet alive, and in Cal., and from its general tone of sincerity, it is probably true to the best of the writer's belief and knowledge. It is evident however that at several points these cannot be depended upon.

MS-A, being the shortest of the three, possibly antedates the others. All we know about it is that it came into Bancroft's hands in 1871, while Morris was still living. In it the proper names are spelled more accurately and the events described seem fresher in the author's somewhat wavering memory.

MS-B, also in the Bancroft Library, was purchased about ten years ago in Monterey and is possibly in Morris' own hand. It bears internal evidence of having been finished in 1853 and covers the whole period from 1834 down to that date. The transcription fills fifty-eight typewritten pages.

MS-C was written either in 1854 or shortly thereafter. It is evidently an extended and corrected edition of MS-B, which in some parts it follows almost word for word. The sentence structure, paragraphing, spelling and capitaliza-

tion are tidied up in this manuscript, of which we have only one copy, made by Dr. William J. Haber, from the original, which is now in the possession of Mrs. Mary E. Fitch, of Atlantic City, New Jersey. She writes:

"The manuscript in my possession and written by Albert F. Morris is in the same penmanship as the letters written to his nephew, George G. Morris, who was my father."

MS-C covers sixty-four pages of typewritten copy. The reasons for selecting it as the basis for the narrative are: it is the latest; it is the most extensive; it is the most carefully written; and it is still in private hands and not available in a public library as are MSS-A and B. The principal differences between MSS-B and C are indicated in the notes.

I

HUNTING EXCURSION TO THE COLORADO AND GILA RIVERS

I ARRIVED in California on the eighth of November in the year of 1834. Finding that the principal business of the country consisted in raising of cattle and horses, of which I was but little acquainted, I was obliged to support myself in the best manner I could by turning my hand to anything that I could possibly do. At length hearing of a party of trappers that were upon the point of starting for the Red River and the River Gila, I joined them.

Our party consisted of but four persons. We left Ciudad de Los Angeles, or the City of Angels, in the month of September, and traveled down the peninsula to the Rancho or farm of Castella [Castillo], a distance of about one hundred and thirty miles, southeast of San Diego.[1] Here we halted to prepare provisions for the trip, such as dried-beef and pinole a coarse meal made of parched corn ground by hand upon an oblong square flat stone, which is held in the hands, being about fourteen inches in length by four inches in breadth and two and a half in thickness, and the operation is performed by rubbing this stone with both hands back and forth upon the larger stone and crushing the grain between them. This machine is called a matarto [*metate*] and is used by every Spanish family.

In the meantime Castella sent several of his Indians to the Red River to call in the Chiefs of the tribes. In a few days their approach was announced by their raising small straight columns of smoke in the mountains which ascended to the very skies. The next day at evening they made their appearance and stout robust fellows they were too. Castella having exchanged presents with them and given them plenty to eat, informed them that we were going into their country to catch beaver, and to fail not to treat us well, under pain of his great displeasure. He had great influence over the Indians and they not only feared him but loved him. He was remarkably kind to them when they kept within bounds, and severe when they broke through them. They left seemingly well pleased, and promised faithfully that we should not be molested, and be it said to their credit they kept their word.

All things being in readiness, we bid adieu to this kindhearted old gentleman and his interesting family, with two Indians which Castella furnished us, not only for guides but to bring back our animals to his rancho, as we intended to trap the river in canoes. The first day's travel brought us to a little rivulet called Sangre de Christo, or Blood of Christ, so named by the Spaniards. Here we stopped for the night, having travelled about thirty miles over an extensive plain, better fitted for pasturage than for agriculture, and with but little timber of any kind growing on it.[2] Early in the morning we packed our mules and moved forward on the road, our Indian guides travelling on foot. They did not seem to exert themselves or to be the least out of wind after travelling for hours and keeping up with the horses and mules, which were going at a smart trot.

As the sun was just sinking in the cosy bed of the Western ocean and its departing rays still quivered on the distant mountains, the old Mission of San Catalina [Santa Catalina][3] burst upon our view. This was once a fine mission, but was now deserted and fast falling into a mass of ruins. It stands at the foot of a lofty range of mountains, which runs parallel with the seacoast the entire length of the country and separates the country bordering on the seacoast from the vast valley of the Colorado or Red River. As it was late we postponed our examination of the buildings and premises until the morning.

At the time of founding the Mission they must of apprehended much danger from the Indians, as the angles of the Mission were defended by strong round towers pierced with loop holes for the soldiery to point their muskets through, and were able to rake the walls of the Mission in every direction with fire. The buildings were built of unburnt brick after the Moorish custom, with an arched piazza in front. I entered the church and found everything remaining in the same state as though they had left but yesterday, excepting their being very dusty. The walls were hung with portraits representing Saints, and images were standing on their pedestals in front of the Altar, and the burnished brass candlesticks were standing in the same place as when mass was last said within its sacred walls. It was melancholy to dwell upon the scene. Here once flourished an opulent Mission full of life and animation. Thousands of horses and cattle grazed upon the plain in front of the Mission. All had long since disappeared, and the long halls of the Mission buildings which once resounded with the song and the dance, were now silent as the tomb. I could not but reflect on the shortness of human life and the futility of human ambition as I gazed on these delapidated ruins. We had all fallen into a kind of serious melancholy which is not at all disagreeable when one becomes lost in such an association of ideas, reflecting upon the past, the present and the future, and not knowing how to reconcile his thoughts or come to any definite conclusions a part of which is distinct and visible, the other hidden from the scrutiny of man.

We were at length aroused from our reverie by our Indian guides informing us that we had a long journey before us and no water on the road. We imme-

diately packed up and in a half an hour were winding our way through the narrow defile of the mountains, which were sterile and desolate. At sunset we arrived at the Aguas Caliente de los Palmas, or the hot waters of the palm trees. Here were three or four Indian huts, and several Indians with their families.[4] Here we encamped for the night. This day which was the fourth of our journey, our guides conducted us around the base of the mountains, in what appeared once to have been the bed of a river, but was in fact nothing more than the bed of the torrents which washed down from the mountains sides during the rainy season. The weather was warm and the sun's rays being reflected from the rocks on the mountains sides, made the heat almost unsupportable and our thirst very great, and we frequently asked our guides how far it was to water, who invariably answered "A little farther on." About three o'clock p. m. they suddenly halted saying "Here is plenty water." We looked with all our eyes in every direction, but could see nothing but burning rocks and sand. They observed our displeasure and disappointment with a smile, and then walked a short distance from us and began to make an excavation by removing the sand with their hands. In a few minutes the excavation was full of cool and refreshing water. Here we quenched our thirst and rested for a short time, and then renewed our journey. After travelling a short distance we came to the foot of a mountain whose sides were covered with loose sand and stones. This mountain we were obliged to ascend which we endeavored to do, the loose stones and sand giving away under the animals' feet. The packs turning on the mules gave us much trouble, and it was dark before we reached the summit, but we were overjoyed to find that it was the last mountain we had to climb.

About nine o'clock the moon arose in all its splendor and cast a silvery light on all around. Before us at the foot of the mountains lay the vast level plain of the Colorado or Red River, which looked as if it were covered with snow. On either hand and behind us towered the summits of lofty, rugged, sterile mountains, and here silence reigned in awful majesty, and I could compare ourselves to nothing but mortals standing sentry on the frontiers of the universe.

We were not long in descending the mountain. On reaching the plain we found it covered with a light saltpetre from two to three inches in thickness, and covered with a thin crust, which breaking beneath the horses' feet raised a dense and offensive cloud of dust which excoriated our nostrils, and brought on a most prodigious fit of sneezing and coughing. About midnight we arrived at some holes of water which the Indians had excavated. We were all of us extremely thirsty, our nostrils and throats smarting from the effects of the saltpetre. I took my cup and filled it with water, and took a hearty drink which came very near strangling me and made me very sick.[5] It was so strongly impregnated with saltpetre and sulphur that I chose rather to bear the thirst than to drink of it again. In the morning I found that the water was perfectly

green and full of living creatures skipping and darting through it, and of a species I had never seen. One of our party who was an old trapper was very sick and vomited severely. I could not forbear laughing at him for he had said on our arrival at the wells that the water was good, that I did not know what bad water was, that he had drunk much worse in his time, and that I was a greenhorn. But the laugh was against him and he was obliged to acknowledge that it was the worst water that he had ever tasted.

When he had recovered a little from his sickness we again resumed our journey, and arrived on the banks of the Red River about three o'clock in the afternoon. The river here is broad and deep and rises and falls with the tide in the Gulf of California. The water is of a reddish cast on account of the fine red sand which washes from its banks and mingles with the stream which I should think ran at the rate of about four miles an hour. The Indians received us in a friendly manner and invited us to eat with them.[6] They were tall, stout, atheletic men, and were very fond of painting themselves white. They crossed over to the eastern bank of the river on large bundles of rushes.[7] The next day[8] we delivered our animals to our Indian guides and dismissed them to return to Castella's.

This bank of the river is good land and thickly timbered with cottonwoods. The Indians raise a plenty of corn, beans, melons, and pumpkins of an excellent quality. But when the snow melts in the mountains the plain is one vast ocean. On the first appearance of the river's rising the Indians retire to the nearest high land until the floods are over. During these freshets the river frequently shifts its channel leaving its old one perfectly dry. The Indians manufacture earthen ware for cooking purposes, also jars to preserve such seeds as they intend to plant next season. These jars they seal up and put them carefully away.[9] While I was with them I had an opportunity of observing their religious customs and funeral ceremonies. Some of them worship the moon, and when that planet is at the full, they lie on their backs watching the silvery course through the blue vault of the heaven, singing and beating time with two sticks which they hold between their fingers. This they continue to do with out intermission until the golden rays of the Aurora announce the glad tidings that another day is illuminating the universe. They also bathe every morning in the river, and frequently plaster up their hair with clay, moulding it into the most grotesque forms as best suits their fancy.[10] I presume the cause of their doing so is that they are animated with the same pride and feelings that a dandy is when early in the morning he repairs to the barbers to have his mustache properly pomatumed and his hair and whiskers properly adjusted, and scented with rose and cologne water.

I also witnessed their funeral ceremonies.[11] Three sides of an oblong square was enclosed with dry brush about five feet high and four inches in thickness, a scaffold was raised at the end upon six forked posts, and the corpse together with such of his effects as they intend to consume, were placed on the scaffold,

and on the day appointed for to mourn and lament the women began to assemble about four p. m. in the unenclosed end of the square, they being the principal mourners at all funerals, being all seated on the ground. Their attempt to cry was at first in vain. They screamed, twisted and distorted their features in a most horrible manner, so much so that I thought that they must be in great pain and agony, at last they began to cry most heartily. This they continued until the day began to dawn, when the enclosure was set fire to and the dead body reduced to ashes and the ceremony ended.

These Indians have been attacked by the Yumas, a tribe of Indians living a considerable distance above them, and they were expecting another invasion, and one of the chiefs assembled all of his people for the purpose of instructing them what measures were to be taken in case of such an event. For more than an hour did he address them; his attitudes were noble and commanding, and the most profound silence reigned while he was speaking.[12]

Having examined the forest and not finding any trees that suited us for canoes it was resolved upon that the Frenchman should stay in camp, and the rest of us should proceed up the river in search of trees suitable to make the canoes. Having made up our packs, early in the morning we set out on our journey. My pack consisted of about 25 lbs. of flour, two blankets, and a musket, and my companions each carried six beaver traps and their blankets. The travelling was rendered remarkably bad on account of the brush which was almost impenetrable.[13] On the second day we arrived at a place where a Mr. [William] Pope and Mr. [Isaac] Slover, and their party [Pattie's party, 1828], had buried their furs many years ago. The remains of their labor was still to be seen. They were in want of provisions and had made an excavation in the earth about 10 feet square and six feet in depth and well lined with hewn timber. In this pit or cellar they deposited their furs and such articles as they did not wish to carry, and set out for San Diego in California, to purchase provisions. On their arrival they were all made prisoners[14] and confined in a loathsome prison and there kept until a greater part of them died of hunger and disease. Those who survived after a long protracted confinement, in which they suffered more than a thousand deaths, were released as prisoners at large, but not allowed to go beyond the limits of San Diego. After remaining in the country for three or four years, several of them obtained passports to return to the United States; but their furs, to the amount of twenty-five or thirty thousand dollars, were all rotten and destroyed.[15] One of the men whom I was now with, by the name of Jesse Ferguson, was one of that party, and from whom I learned the particulars already mentioned. The pusillanimity and insignificance of the Mexican nation is all that has saved them from that punishment which they so richly deserve, and which will sooner or later most assuredly overtake them. Their cruel treatment and murdering of foreigners is such as to bring down on them the most inveterate hatred of all civilized nations. Mr. Ferguson said that at the time they buried their furs, the river was not more than a quarter of a mile distant.

Having found a pool of water close by we encamped for the night and about eight o'clock in the morning pushed on for the river. We soon arrived at the dry bed of the river,[16] and entered the brush on the opposite bank, which was so thick that the person ahead was obliged to separate it with his hands as he advanced; and being covered with dry sand from the overflowing of the river, raised a cloud of dust at every step. As the sun advanced towards the meridian the day became intensely hot, and our thirst intolerable. At night we halted beat out and perishing for the want of water, all of us in an exceedingly surly mood. To obtain an answer that had the least shadow of mildness was out of the question. We lay down to sleep, but we were so thirsty that we could not; I thought it the longest night that I ever passed. At length the day began to dawn, and as soon as we could see our way, we recommenced our journey, and about mid-day arrived on the banks of the river and thrust our heads into it and drank like horses. Here we remained until the next day, but not finding any trees suitable for our purpose, we resolved to follow the river until we arrived at camp. We could not travel more than three miles per day on account of the fallen trees, sloughs, and brush. One day as I was taking my turn ahead, I got on the trunk of a fallen tree some three or four feet from the ground, accidentally lost my balance and pitched upon the top of my head. As I struck the ground a tremendous rattle snake began his melodious music within two feet of my head. I struggled with all my strength, and it was with much difficulty that I regained my erect position, when I discharged my musket at him, the contents of which cut off about a foot of his tail.[17] He left as fast as he was able, and no doubt was as glad to get rid of my company as I was of his. There are a great number of these snakes in this part of the country, and of a very large size.

We reached camp after an absence of eight days, having travelled about twenty-five miles in all. We now selected two of the largest trees we could find, and made two canoes,[18] and lashing them firmly together they answered our purpose very well. Our provisions were now nearly exhausted; we therefore purchased as many pumpkins from the Indians as we could conveniently carry, and pushed on up the river. On the second day finding that we made slow progress against the current, and that the western bank of the river for some distance was pretty clear of brush, we made a rope fast to the bow of the canoe. Myself and one of my companions stepped on shore and commenced cordling [cordelling] the canoe up the river, wading through sloughs of water and mud up to our middle for several days, setting our traps towards the close of each day. We were finally obliged to go on board our canoes, and with setting poles push them up the river. The nights were very cold and ice would form on our poles until eight or nine o'clock a. m. At the expiration of twelve days our provisions were exhausted, and we were obliged to depend entirely on our traps for food, and a most miserable dependence it was. We frequently went without a morsel to eat two or three days together, and at one time we

MESSRS. PATTIE AND SLOVER RESCUED FROM FAMISH
An incident mentioned in "The Journal of a Crazy Man."
From The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie, Cincinnati, 1833.

had but one meal in eight days.[19] I now began to experience real facts and cold realities, and the charm and romance of hunting vanished like the vapor before the sun. A few miles below the mouth of the Gila we landed on the Western bank of the river, and ascended a high hill, when one of my companions pointed out to me a large mountain in a southeast direction, standing alone in the midst of a vast plain, at the foot of which he said stood the city of Caborca, in the department of Sonora.

We ascended the river Gila near sixty miles, when our situation became so alarming for the want of food that we were obliged to return. There is some very good land on the northern bank of the river, and a plenty of cottonwood on the southern bank. This valley is surrounded by lofty, craggy, sterile mountains, and being situated nearly under a vertical sun, the heat must be exceedingly oppressive during the summer months, but no person could live there unless he had the power of Proteus, so that in the rainy season and when the snow melts in the mountains, he could transform himself into a porpoise and go spouting with the flood into the Gulf of California, and return again when the flood was over. I have seen the water marks on the trees ten or twelve feet above the highest level of the plain. We descended the river as fast as possible, suffering beyond measure with hunger. At length we arrived at our old encampment, but not a single person was to be seen. At evening we lay down to sleep. In the middle of the night we heard a person singing; the sound was very faint and seemed to be at a great distance. In the morning one of our party set out in the direction from which the singing seemed to come, and in three hours returned with several Indians. They brought us, I think, the largest pumpkin I ever saw. We immediately set about cooking it. As for my part I had been so long without food, that I did not feel the appetite or the inclination to eat anything at all, and I think two or three days more of starvation would have put an end to my worldly cares. When the pumpkin was cooked, I began to eat very slowly; I had not eaten a half a dozen spoonfuls when my appetite began to revive, and in a short time it became so voracious that I could not control it. We soon despatched our meal, and I must say that I was never in such pain and torment in my life; I tried in every possible way to vomit, but in vain. I lay down, then walked about, and wondered how I could be so simple as to eat so much, and cursed the moment when the thought of hunting entered my head. Yet I still had a most voracious appetite, and the Indians would give me such eatables as they had, and as soon as I became a little easy I was sure to put myself in the same disagreeable condition again by eating too much.[20] Thus I passed two as miserable days as any poor devil ever did.

We retired to the Indian village about a mile distant. Their huts are built of wood of round pyramidical form, and covered with earth; the entrance is about three feet square. They build a large fire in the middle of the ground floor, close to the door without any aperture for the smoke to escape. Seventy

or eighty naked Indians lay sweating and smoking throughout the long winter nights. I was so poor and thin that I suffered much from the cold, and thought that I would take up my lodgings in one of the huts, and entered to pass the night, but the smoke affected my eyes so much, that I was under the necessity of frequently thrusting my head outside the door. This so enraged an old squaw who lay close to the door, that she began to beat me about the seat of honor at no small rate. I in turn growled like a half starved grizzly bear, and crawled back to my berth again. I managed however to pass the night, but not without frequent attacks from the old squaw, who did not like to have the cold air let in upon her.

In the morning we began to make preparations to return to the ranch of Castella. We traded with the Indians for an old horse to pack our traps and blankets on, also for a few beans for the journey.[21] They were very close in their dealings and knew well the value of their provisions. We hired two of them for guides. Having everything arranged for the morrow, as the dark mantle of night closed around us, I returned to my old lodgings among the Indians. About midnight an Indian began to rattle in his throat, and finally choked, struggled and died. "Ah," thought I, "if you can not stand the smoke and fire, it is high time for me to be going," and I immediately left the hut. In the morning a quantity of dry wood was collected, the corpse brought out and laid on the funeral pile. It was then set fire to and reduced to ashes. As they did not make any ceremony over him, I came to the conclusion that he must have been a plebeian. We packed up and took leave of our Indian friends.

We had travelled but a short distance when Mr. Ferguson came to me and said that one side of him was quite dead, and was discharging water from his mouth quite freely, and wished to lie down, and for me to stop with him. I was afraid that he was on the eve of a shock of palsy, and advised him not to lie down by any means, but to keep his feet and walk along as he was able. He took my advice and the numbness began to leave him, and at sundown was entirely gone. We were three days reaching the palmas or the palm trees. The Indians that were here when we passed on our way to the river were all gone, and here we ate up the last of our provisions for supper, and still had three hard days' journey to perform before reaching Castella.[22] In the morning we dismissed our guides, and without breakfast pushed forward for the old Mission of Santa Catalina, where we arrived late in the evening. We gathered a few sticks, made a fire, and lay down to sleep. We had not fallen asleep when on a sudden Mr. Ferguson sprang up and began to screech and call to God to help him. It was evident that he was out of his senses. I arose immediately and went to him, and by gentle and mild measures finally succeeded in persuading him to lie down. A short time before the day broke he fell asleep, and when he awoke to proceed with us on our journey he seemed to be much better, but the hardships, privations, and sufferings that he had undergone had evidently been too severe for his constitution.

We set out on our journey a little after sunrise. Near the middle of the day my companion[s] had got some distance in advance of me. When I came up with Mr. Ferguson he was sitting down, and said that he could go no further. He looked at me with a wild, vacant stare and said, "When you get to Castella's you can send for me if you think proper, if not you can let it alone." I assured him that if I had strength to reach there myself he should most certainly be sent for whether living or dead. This was a trying scene to me; I could do nothing for him by stopping with him, there was no relief nearer than Castella's. My own preservation required me to leave him, with feelings that can not be described, and exerted myself to the utmost of my power for the purpose of obtaining assistance for him as well as myself, and arrived at the little rivulet called Sangre de Christo, or blood of Christ, late in the night.[23] During the night Mr. Ferguson came up, and we were extremely glad to see him although we could render him no assistance. It is impossible for anyone to conceive of the friendship and attachment that people have for each other after passing through such severe trials and hardships together.

Early in the morning we moved forward. I had not walked far when my left knee began to pain me and I was left some distance in the rear. As the sun was taking *congé* of this upper world to visit the Antipodes, I came in full view of the hospitable mansion of Castella. He had perceived us in the distance and dispatched an Indian with a horse and a bag of provisions, who after giving them some food, carried them one by one to the house. "Ah," thought I to myself, "I was born on the shortest day in the year, and am doomed forever to be behind the times, and to bring up the rear to all eternity." It came to my turn at last, and I had no idea that I was so lean and poor until I threw myself into the saddle, when to my surprise I found that I was but a few ligaments, cords, tendons, and evacuated veins, with the skin dried on them for modesty's sake, and I moved as it were by geometry. I rode to the house where I was received with unbounded hospitality and kindness. The good old man and his wife did all in their power to make us comfortable and happy, and I shall ever remember them with feelings of the deepest gratitude. The next day poor Ferguson went into fits, from which he never entirely recovered, but was subject to them as long as he lived, which was but a few months, when he fell down in a fit and expired. I believe that I have taken as many frugal repasts as any man of my age, and must say that I have not found them so conducive to health as philosophers and physicians have recommended them to be. . . .

II

THE MISSIONS OF UPPER CALIFORNIA

[An inaccurate account of the uprisings of the "toiling and enslaved" Mission Indians "to free themselves and their country from the tyranny and oppression of their unrelenting taskmasters" has been omitted, as has also a

portion of the manuscript headed "First Settling of California by the Jesuit (Franciscan) Priests." This concludes as follows:]

The Government finally put administrators in the Missions; this stroke of policy only accelerated the destruction of the Missions. They drove off the cattle and the horses to stock farms of their own, and the remainder were killed and their hides and tallow sold for money to spend in fandangoes and gambling. Thus the poor Indian, who had been accustomed to his weekly rations of beef, beans, corn, wheat, and fat, and once a year to receive a supply of blankets and some other light clothing, now saw himself turned out of doors and all the fruits of his toil and suffering vanish like vapor before the sun, and himself driven to the extremity of getting a precarious living wherever he could find it. I am aware that many people argue that it is perfectly right to destroy a parcel of heathen savages to make room for civilized men, and if it were not so the Almighty would not suffer such extermination to take place. . . .

I was acquainted with one of these administrators, a most detestable drunkard and gambler, but he could read and write a little. Such persons are called by the California Spaniards men of education, and belong to the literati. The drunken spendthrift of whom I am speaking was called [Nicolás] Alviso.[1] The Governor gave him charge of the Mission of Soledad, at that time possessing vast herds of cattle and horses. This very frugal and praiseworthy administrator in one year made way with thirty-seven thousand head of cattle, in fandangoes, drinking, and gambling. Cattle at that time were worth no more than their hides, which as I have before said was two dollars in goods, which would make the amount expended, seventy-four thousand dollars, and if we add the value of the tallow, which was one dollar and twenty-five cents the aroba or twenty-five pounds, the amount that he expended would reach the sum of one hundred thousand dollars or more.

Thus everything that the Jesuits [Franciscans][2] had done went to destruction, they did nothing but squabble to see which one could destroy and squander the most and the fastest. The government was changed from a patriarchal one to that of the Governor-General, which was nothing more or less than the precarious whim of his disposition and temper. In fact the country was in a state of anarchy and oppression.

III

THE CALIFORNIANS CALL UPON THE FOREIGNERS TO AID THEM IN ESTABLISHING THE COUNTRY INDEPENDENT OF MEXICO

The Californians could never reconcile themselves to the Mexicans and they could not bear the idea of Mexico sending a General to govern them.[1] They thought they ought to be allowed the privilege of choosing a governor among their own people.They had several times risen in rebellion against their

Governor and sent him back to Mexico, but it did but little good for another one was sure to be sent to take his place. They at length determined to revolt against Mexico, and declare the province an independent State. Juan B. Alvarado, a young Californian who had received his education from an English gentleman residing in the country, was at the head of affairs,[2] and in order to insure success he called on the foreigners to assist and to join his standard, promising them three dollars a day during actual service and also grants of land, and equal rights and priveleges with his own countrymen; in fact they were to be recognized as citizens, telling them at the same time that if they did not join him, they might dread his resentment, if victory should declare in his favor.[3] Thus they were left to choose between the two alternatives.

At length they agreed to stand by him to the last. One Isaac Graham was invested with a commission as Captain of the riflemen, as the foreigners were termed, and one John Coppinger, who had formerly been an officer in the British Navy, was invested with a Lieutenants commission. Captain and his Lieutenant having assembled the foreigners[4] and all things being in readiness, and taking advantage of a dark night, they surprised and took possession of the old Spanish Battery in Monterey, mounting nine long brass twenty-four pounders without firing a shot, and at daylight in the morning summoned the Mexican General Butierez [Captain Nicolás Gutierrez] to surrender. The General requested several hours to consider upon it, and was granted.[5] The time having expired and no answer being received, Captain Graham informed Alvarado that he should open fire on the General and his forces who were quartered in the town. Alvarado begged of him not to fire until he had sent a second time which Captain Graham assented to. The General requested a short time longer to consider the subject, which was granted. The General placed a soldier on the roof of his quarters to observe the movements of his enemies, and drew up his troops in the plaza, and commenced making bombastic and windy speeches to them, telling them that the people in the battery were a parcel, of raw farmers, and that he would soon compel them to surrender. While he was thus idly wasting his time a twenty-four pound shot passing through the roof of his quarters, and the soldiers coming down at double quick time, announced to him that they were no fools in the battery and that the time had arrived for decisive measures,[6] which the General quickly availed himself of by immediately surrendering himself and his forces prisoners of war. In a few days after, he and his troops were sent to Mexico.

In the meantime the General's partisans on the south-western part of the province had assembled and posted themselves with several pieces of cannon in the Mission of San Fernando. Alvarado on hearing of this news, immediately marched to meet them at the head of a body of his own countrymen and the foreign riflemen.[7] The rainy season had set in and the streams were swollen to their banks and the roads were in a bad condition, and the storm

beat incessantly upon them while marching a distance of five hundred miles to engage their enemy. At length, having arrived within five miles of the enemy,[8] Alvarado halted his forces in the midst of a pitiless storm, and commenced negotiating with his enemies by writing long formal letters to them, and receiving the same in return. I have known these storms to last thirty or forty days with only two or three hours intermission.

Alvarado having kept up his correspondence for four or five days which resulted in nothing, the foreigners swore that they would not stop in the rain any longer, and if Alvarado did not march and attack the enemy they would.[9] Alvarado placed all his hopes in the foreigners and in them rested his fate, and he did not at his critical moment wish to lose their confidence and assistance. He therefore broke up his camp, formed his men and advanced towards the Mission. No sooner did the enemy perceive the head of his column advancing than they spiked their cannon and commenced a rapid retreat. Alvarado and his forces immediately occupied the Mission and a few days after his enemy broke up and disbanded, each one going to his own home.

Alvarado seeing his enemies subdued on all sides, and peace and tranquillity restored, abandoned all idea of declaring the province an independent state, and wished for nothing more ardently than for the Mexican Government to grant him a commission as Governor-General of all the Californias, which that weak and pusillanimous government was not long in acceding to all his wishes, and he was duly and legally appointed Governor of California. The foreigners were paid off in orders on the Government. These orders were about on a par with the present California state and county script, and were negotiable at Mr. Larkins grog shop for half their value in aguardiente, or Spanish brandy. With regard to the grants of land, they were to receive, and equal rights and privileges, they were forever buried in oblivion, nor did he ever in his heart intend to grant them, but he was basely and meanly jealous of the foreigners, who had risked their lives in defending and elevating him to the high station which he now occupied.

As affairs stood things went on quietly for a while; he had shrewdness sufficient not to disturb the foreigners, or to show the bitter hatred that he felt towards them. At length a revolt broke out in Santa Barbara, but as it was not very extensive or formidable, the Governor did not think it necessary to call out the foreigners, but collecting his own countrymen, he placed himself at their head and advanced down the country. During his absence the Mexicans rose, took possession of the old Spanish battery in Monterey, laid the town under contribution, and were living in grando. The people called on Captain Graham and his Lieutenant to muster their countrymen and retake the place. They accordingly assembled at Captain Graham's distillery situated at Natividad and twenty-five miles distant from Monterey. They were at the distillery two days making preparations for the expedition. I was frequently urged to join them, but I refused telling them that I thought that it was quite sufficient

for a man to fight for his own country when its rights were invaded, that taking part in the domestic quarrels of the Spaniards, we should in the end bring the resentment of both parties upon us, and be compelled to fight our way out of the country. My arguments were of no avail; I at length yielded to their solicitations and suffered myself to commit an act which I knew was unjustifiable, and from which I knew no good could accrue, but it is some consolation to know that it was the first and last time that I meddled with their affairs.

All things being in readiness, we mounted our horses and rode leisurely along towards Monterey and arrived at a little brook just on the outskirts of the town early in the afternoon. Here we halted for the day, as we did not intend to make the attack until the next day. Just as the day broke on the morrow we were drawn up in line numbering just thirty men, and as good marksmen as the world every saw. The battery had been strengthened by the addition of two short heavy guns which made eleven, all of them loaded with grape and canister, and manned by eighty men. At the word of command "Right Face March," we moved forward in single file.[10] On arriving at a ravine within about eighty yards of the battery, we marched down it till we came abreast of the place, then facing to the left, which brought us into line, we marched up to the brow of the hill, only showing our heads and shoulders, when we were ordered to halt while Captain Graham and his Lieutenants reconnoitered the works.[11] They were all at their stations with matches lit and ready to receive us.[12] There were but two Californians with us. Our officers having satisfied themselves with regard to the situation of the enemy, were on the point of giving orders to charge and carry the works, when the cowardly rascals surrendered without firing a shot, and we marched in and took possession of the place. In a few minutes the Californians were so thick that I thought they would trample us into the earth with their horses, and paid us the very flattering compliment that we cared no more for our lives than so many dogs; it was pretty evident that they had especial regard for theirs, or they would have at least been on hand to remove our wounded had an action taken place.[13] I shall never forget with what wonder and astonishment an ignorant stupid ass of a Spanish officer, covered with tinsel and *regays* viewed the place. He was lost in wonder and astonishment, his eyes dilated and his under jaw resting on his breast, he seemed to be riveted down to the place where he stood. Surely Americans and Britons have made a most shameful descent from their dignity and lofty position among the nations of the earth, when they will descend so low as to become the tools and instruments of such a low dastardly and unprincipled set of wretches.

We remained in the battery for a few days when it was garrisoned by the Californians, and we set off down the country to assist the Governor. Having proceeded about two hundred miles on our way[14] we were met by a herald from the Governor, who informed us that our services were not required, the

Governor having succeeded in restoring order in that part of the country, and would return to Monterey in a few days. We therefore retraced our steps back to Monterey where we were soon discharged. Thus ended the campaign.

I returned to Captain Graham's distillery where I had previously been employed, and resumed my vocation. In a few months the Government began to manifest its displeasure and hatred of foreigners and threats of sending them all out of the country were circulated in every direction, impediments and obstacles were thrown in the way of the daily avocations, and justice was not to be obtained before their tribunals. The foreigners were frequently told by the Alcalde that they were Jews and heathens, and that their word was not to be taken, and that justice was not intended for such people, and the insulting question was frequently put to them in the streets and on the highways whether they were Christians or Heathens. The Alcalde of Monterey came to Graham's distillery several times and forbid him proceeding any further with business, but to stop it immediately, at the same time using threatening and insulting language. At another time they seized hides to the amount of three hundred and sixty dollars, under pretence that they were purchased illegally, notwithstanding that Graham had obtained a license from the authorities, to purchase any hides that might be brought to his distillery for sale.This license bound him to take down the name of the person who sold the hides, also to note the number of hides purchased from each individual and to set a private mark upon them. All this had been strictly complied with, and the list presented, but all to no purpose, the hides were taken. Now this compelling a man to take out a license to purchase bullock's hides was a most infamous and rascally piece of business, such a thing had never been thought or heard of in the country before. Everybody bought and sold hides at his pleasure. If a poor man was in possession of a hide, he carried it to the store and purchased two dollars worth of goods. Hides were a staple commodity of the country, and answered the purpose that bank notes did in other countries, and received the appellation of California bank bills. It was true that persons purchasing hides were liable to have them examined for the purpose of examining the brands to ascertain if any were stolen hides, and to find out the person who sold them, but it was only for the ostentatious show of justice. They never punish their own people for stealing for the very laudable reason that they were all thieves, and a certain Governor-General had been caught with a bolt of calico under his manga or cloak, that he had stolen out of a foreigner's store in Monterey, but a person was obliged to keep his mouth shut and put up with such outrages. But if any stolen hides were found, they did not pretend to look for the thief, but took the hides from the purchaser and reprimanded him severely for encouraging stealing. Any person of common sense will say that it was not the purchaser's duty to inquire of a man who had a hide to sell if he came by it honestly; if he had he would have very soon brought his business to a close.[15]

An old acquaintance called one day to see us, and informed us that he had seen several publications distributed about the country, denouncing the foreigners in the strongest terms, and calling on the inhabitants to hold themselves in readiness to shed the last drop of their blood in defense of their religion, their wives and their children.[16] We could not believe that the Governor's feelings could be otherways than beneficent, when we reflected on all that we had done for him, and were the sole cause of his now elevated and prosperous condition, but we were most grossly deceiving ourselves, for death had been hovering around us for several months.[17] Nor were the Governor and his people our only enemies, but there were a certain set of dark minded and unprincipled foreigners, who had abjured their country and religion, reversed their faculties, turned their natures inside out, and made themselves monsters of a new predicament, who were urging the Governor on to the destruction of their unwary countrymen. In Monterey at the dark and solemn hour of deep midnight did they in concert with the high functionaries of the Government, hold their fiend-like and hellish tribunals to mature plans for the destruction of their sleeping countrymen. Their deeds have marked them out for the scorn and contempt of mankind. They can not hide from the scrutinizing eye of justice; some finger will point them out in the dense mob as the unhallowed and blood thirsty conspirators against their own countrymen. One of these miserable outcasts used, whenever he saw me, bring himself to a perfect perpendicular and begin to stare at me, and I have no doubt that he boasted to his friends that I could not brook his countenance. If so, he said most truly; I was indeed shocked and my heart sank within me to think that a wretch could become so hardened in crime and villainy. His distorted features and the heavings of his bosom, and trembling of his limbs with conscious guilt, reminded me of a wretch in his last agonies, and I was obliged to turn my head from such a distressing and unlovely picture. Another of these black hearted villains was employed in writing letters and leaving them at the Governor's door at midnight so that he could be sure to pick them up in the morning. These letters contained dreadful denunciations against the Governor and the people, and he was made to believe that they came from Captain Graham.

On the sixth of April, 1840, there was an unusual stir among the inhabitants of the country, Jose Castro, Ankle [Angel] Castro, and Vincente Centura [Cantua?] were passing and repassing Capt. Graham's distillery; they appeared to be much agitated. On Capt. Graham's inquiry of the cause of so much stir, they gave evasive answers: One said "Nothing in particular," another said that they were going on a campaign against the Indians. One William R. Garner called during the day; this man was married to a woman of the country, and lived about thirty miles from Monterey. On asking him what was the cause of so much stir among the Spaniards, he laughingly said that they were going to drive the foreigners out of the country, and that he had a hand in it also, but if their plan of procedure did not suit him that he

would send us word. This we paid no attention to, having heard the same report many times before, but nothing having been done we supposed the whole to be nothing but idle talk. In the evening a Spaniard called and said that he had lost a bundle, that it was so dark that he could not find it, and requested permission to stop for the night so that he might go back and look for it in the morning. Capt. Graham sent him to the stillhouse to pass the night. There were with me in the stillhouse one William Barton, a hired man, and two travellers who were on their way to the Pueblo de San Jose.

About eight o'clock we all retired to rest not being conscious that the fellow who pretended that he had lost the bundle was a spy, and that death was hovering around us; but about two o'clock in the morning I was awakened by a loud knocking on the door. I demanded in English who was there, but received no answer. I then made the same demand in Spanish when a man answered "Nicolas Alviso," he being a near neighbor. I told him to wait until I could light a candle. I had just time to put on my pantaloons when he called on all hands to break down the door; at the same time I heard the tramp of horsemen in the rear of the stillhouse, and the report of firearms about the house where Graham and his partner, Mr. [Henry] Nail[e], slept, and also heard William R. Garner call out in English to set fire to the premises. I immediately drew my pistols and placing myself in front of the door, I ordered them in a stern voice to desist. They paid no attention to what I said, but came against the door a second time with all their force to break it down. I immediately discharged my pistols through the door. They returned the fire and wounded me in the left side with a musket ball. I seized my rifle and presenting it drew trigger but it missed fire, and my cowardly antagonists thought it prudent to retire. I now thought it prudent to make my escape, which I did through a hole in the end of the stillhouse, and as I was entering a thick willow swamp in the rear of the stillhouse, a Spaniard saluted me with "Quien vive"; I answered, "Quien sabe?," which is this: he said to me "Who lives?," and I answered "Who knows?."

The night was stormy and wet, but as the moon would occasionally burst from behind a cloud, I was able to discover that the premises were attacked by about forty men. About twenty had attacked me in the still house, and a like number were now making deadly and heavy blows at Graham with their sabres. I also heard Jose Castro command them to strike with the edges of their sabres. I entered the swamp camp barefoot, and without hat or jacket, with no clothing but my shirt and pantaloons, with feelings which it is difficult to describe.[18] Early in the morning I heard them break down the door of the stillhouse, and also had another view of W. R. Garner as he passed along the San Juan road.

I kept quiet all day and when the dark mantle of night was thrown over me, I left the swamp and walked eight miles to the farm of David Littlejohn, wading through sloughs of mud and water up to my middle. Here I stopped

two days for the streams to fall, as they had been much swollen by the heavy rains. On the second day at evening, Mr. Littlejohn furnished me with a horse and an Indian for a guide, and we set out for one Mr. Job Dye's distillery in Sianta [Zayante] near the Mission of Santa Cruz. We arrived early in the morning. Mr. Dye was not at home, but a Mr. [Henry] Cooper, who had charge of the place, received me very kindly, and was much surprised when I told him what had happened. I remained with him three days. The third day in the evening, Mr. Dye came home and as I stepped to the door he said "Morris, don't shoot anyone." I answered that I did not intend to unless it was in self defense. I then asked him if he knew why they had made such an attack on Graham. He said that he did not. I then requested him to speak to Capt. [Alpheus B.] Thompson,[19] who was expected daily to arrive in the harbor of Santa Cruz, and see if he would allow me to come aboard his vessel. He promised me that he would do so, and directed me in the meantime to go into the woods beyond his mill, where he said that I would be safe and he would send me plenty to eat. He then turned to Mr. Cooper and said that he had just come over the Santa Cruz Mountains with Jose Castro and forty men, and Castro wanted him [Cooper] to come to the Mission and tell him if he knew anything about an intended revolution. Finally by his [Castro's] artful and treacherous persuasions, he prevailed on him [Cooper] to go, but before he [Cooper] left he said to Dye, "If they take me prisoner, you will give Mr. Morris my best horse and saddle and let him save himself, if he can." All of which Dye promised faithfully to do. Mr. Cooper went to the Mission and was taken prisoner, and I retired to the woods where I remained four days without a morsel of food.[20]

On the fifth day early in the morning I heard a man calling out to me, "Don't be afraid." At last two men made their appearance; one an American named Peter Lyons, the other a Canadian named Larginess.[21] This last mentioned person said that I had better surrender, that I would not be put in irons or in prison, that the authorities only wished me to tell what I knew about an intended revolution, and "By God," says he, "Do you say all that you can against Capt. Graham." I replied that I did not know anything against him. I hesitated some time, but reflecting on my destitute situation and the little knowledge I had of that part of the country I was in, and seeing my own countrymen in arms against us, I reluctantly threw down my rifle and went with them to the [Dye] distillery where I beheld Dye under arms and subject to the commands of Capt. [Antonio] Buelna, with seventeen[22] Spanish soldiers. Capt. Buelna addressed me and said that he was very glad that I had surrendered,[23] that he should have been very sorry to have been under the necessity of shooting me, or that I should perish through my own courage in the mountains. He then asked me if I had eaten anything. I answered that it was the fifth day since I had tasted food. He was much surprised and immediately dispatched a man to a neighboring farm house to order something for me to eat.

After waiting a short time I was mounted on horse-back, and the escort moved forward. On arriving at the farmhouse they had roasted a fat sheep. Capt. Buelna told me to dismount, and to help myself to as much of the mutton as I pleased. This officer behaved in a very gentlemanly manner towards me. I did as I was directed, and having finished my repast, I was again mounted and the escort moved forward. As we were passing through a pine woods I observed that Dye kept close to my side. I asked him what they intended to do with me, if it was their intention to shoot me. He answered in a surly, rough manner that it was hard to tell. I made no more inquiries but putting on an iron visage, I rode on with the determination that he should have no cause to rejoice over my feelings or situation let it be what it would.

On our arrival at the Mission [Santa Cruz], I was put under guard in a deserted room with no door to it in the rear of the Mission. An Italian[24] who lived close by brought me food from his own table the two days that I remained there. While under guard, a low, drunken, bloodthirsty wretch[25] came to me and begged of me to give him a shirt. I told him that I had only the one on my back. He frequently threw his arms around me when I would thrust him off, and so determined was he to get my shirt that I began to suspect that he intended to murder me, and I kept a wary eye on him. After tormenting me two or three hours each day that I remained in the place, I finally got rid of him on the third day by the command of the escort being given to Juan Gonzales, who immediately set out with me to Monterey.

As it was not far out of our way to go by G's [Graham's] distillery, I requested him to do me the favor to go to the distillery that I might get my clothing, which he consented to do. On my arrival at the distillery I dismounted and entered the house where Graham and Nail used to sleep, and there I beheld Mr. Nail lying in his bed. He looked very pale and ghastly from the loss of blood. I advanced immediately to his bedside and grasping his hand asked him how he did, and if he was badly hurt. He was quite overcome by his feelings and shed tears; at length he spoke and said that he had received the thrust of a lance through the thigh, and a deep sabre cut in the leg. I told him that the escort would soon leave, and asked him if he could let me have some money. He said that he would with all his heart, but that he was not able to rise and could not go to the place where he kept it. He pointed to several places in the walls of the house where pistol balls had entered that were fired at him and G. on the night of the attack.

The officer now told me to hurry and get my clothing as it was late and time to be on the road. I went into the stillhouse for my portmanteaus; they were both open and rifled of their contents. I returned to Mr. Nail and took leave of him, telling him to keep up his spirits, that all would yet come right. I was now ordered to mount my horse and we were soon on the road.

A little after sunset, the escort arrived at the ranch of Trinidad Sponosa.[26] Here I got a good supper and was put under guard for the night. In the morn-

ing I ate my breakfast and the escort moved forward for Monterey where we arrived about ten o'clock A. M. As we were entering the place, a herald from headquarters came up at full speed and ordered the escort to stop, and then departed again with the same speed and precipitation. After going back and forth several times the escort was ordered to advance. On entering the place I saw several buildings that were converted into prisons, all full of Americans and Englishmen, and each strongly guarded. I was taken in front of a small adobe building which was crowded with my countrymen. There was but one small iron grated window in the building. The prisoners were suffering very much for the want of fresh air, and were taking turns at the window to breathe. Here I was dismounted, and a very heavy pair of irons brought and riveted on my ankles. The smith who clinched the rivet, be it said to his everlasting shame and disgrace, was a foreigner by the name of John Chamberlain. A foreigner who could descend so low as to make himself a tool in the hands of semi-savages and rivet down his own countrymen in fetters and chains, must have been a degraded and miserable remnant of mortality. They then searched my pockets; the harvest was not a very rich one as they found nothing but a little tobacco and a pocket knife, all of which they took from me.

I was then conducted into the presence of four men who pretended to be officers of justice. I requested that Mr. [David] Spence might be called for an interpreter. They said that could not be allowed, that I must be content with the one they had provided. He was by no means capable of the task, but I was compelled to take him or none and go into the examination. I was sworn, they then asked what was my religion and what country I belonged to. I replied that I was a Protestant and an Englishman. The interpreter then said that it was well known that I had been writing letters against the government. I asked him to produce them that I might see them. He replied that it was not necessary. He then said that Captain Graham was at the head of an attempted revolutionary movement against the government, and that I knew something about it. I replied that I had never heard Captain Graham suggest anything of the kind; I said that he had expressed a determination to represent to the Governor the shameful treatment of Mr. [John] Higgins, and the outrages upon the foreigners while burying one of their countrymen at Santa Barbara, and particularly the monstrous deed of digging him up after he was buried, and leaving the corpse naked above ground. I confessed that I had offered to go with him to the Governor for that purpose. I was then asked why I had fired at the people at Mr. Graham's distillery. I replied that I did it in self defense, that my house was my castle and that I had a right to defend it. He inquired how could that be. I said that it was utterly impossible for me in the night time to distinguish those who made the assault on the distillery; I could not know whether they were the authorized agents of the Government or a band of robbers whom it was my duty to resist, my life was at stake and I

fought for it as they would have done under the same circumstances. I was asked why I did not seek redress from the government if I supposed them to be robbers. I replied that I had no time to do so between their attempts to kill me and my own necessary acts to prevent them, and if I had an opportunity I had no assurance under the circumstances that the government would protect me. This last answer, was translated with some embellishments, and the interpreter informed me that it was considered highly insulting to the Governor. I replied that no insult was intended, that I was under oath and could not vary from the truth. I was then asked why I had fled from Santa Cruz. I replied that I had lost all confidence in the justice of the Government and fled to the wilderness for protection. At this they were very greatly incensed and ordered my answers to be reduced to writing and commanded me to affix my name to them together with the additions, which their desire for an excuse to destroy me, induced them to append. I stated that I did not suppose myself bound to place my signature to an instrument written in a language that I did not understand, and could not read. I was told that I must and should sign it. Not wishing to draw any further indignity on my head, I signed it with drawn swords over my head. What the paper contained I never knew; they would not allow me to attempt to read it, nor did I ever see it afterwards.

The examination being over I was mounted on horseback with a person sitting behind me. I was then escorted by a company of soldiers to the old Spanish Battery which defended the harbor, and placed under a strong guard of thirty men. Here I was kept four days without a morsel of food. While here I sent to Mr. Larkin by a soldier telling him of my destitute situation and requested him to send me some articles of clothing. He sent me a pair of pantaloons and two pairs of socks. As the pantaloons did not fit me I sent them back, but retained the socks.

The fifth day in the morning I was again mounted on horseback with a person sitting behind me, and conducted between two files of soldiers into the town. Arriving within about a hundred yards of the Governor's House, I was ordered to dismount and marched with my irons to within a few yards of the door. Here they had prepared an altar adorned with some of the most sacred images and other relics of the church. A chair was brought me and I was ordered to sit down, and the soldiers all kneeling the[y] said mass.[27] This was preparatory to my execution for they intended to shoot me, and a vast concourse of people of both sexes had assembled to witness the execution. When the service was over a woman advanced and gave me a biscuit. I thanked her. Who she was I never knew, but shall always remember her with gratitude. On a sudden there appeared to be a great confusion among the officers and soldiers that guarded me, and all eyes were directed to a person in a very different situation from that in which I was placed. In a few minutes I was ordered to be confined in a small apartment in an adobe building close by, and a strong guard placed over me. In a short time I was able, by the disper-

sion of the mob, to see the man who had struck such terror into this host of semi-savages.

He stood considerably above the common stature. He was addressing[28] a group of California officers in a most energetic and determined manner, and seemed to look down on them with the most ineffable contempt and disdain. I knew from his noble bearing that he must be a friend,[29] and so he was, and a most valuable one to us all. This gentleman was Thos. J. Farnham of New York, and all the prisoners owe him a debt of gratitude that can never be repaid. He arrived just in time to prevent my execution. He came [back] to California soon after it was taken by the United States, and established himself at Santa Cruz, and did his utmost to get us all to come and live with him. One day in conversation with him he said that during our imprisonment at Monterey, he used to walk every evening close to our prison till a late hour in the night and listen to the prisoners singing "Hail Columbia" and "Rule Brittania"; that these songs had a great effect on him under such circumstances and at such a lonely hour of the night, and that he sighed for only a small force, "And," said he, "you would have seen those prison doors fly from their hinges in double quick time." He also said that Jose Castro insinuated to him that he might lose his life some night in his rambles, that he told that important functionary that he feared no danger and that he wore no mask, that he should walk where he pleased at any hour of the day or night as best suited his convenience or pleasure, and that whoever dared to molest him would pay very dear for their presumption. This most excellent and high minded gentleman was taken with the fever in the gold mines and died at San Francisco, and I lost my best friend. Had he lived my situation would have been different. He sleeps on the shores of the Pacific Ocean, a short distance to the westward of the city of San Francisco, without a single stone to mark his grave, or an inscription to his memory, but his memory shall live and not die to all future ages, and Britons shall not forget him. It might truly be said of him as of a general of yore, that he who merits a temple, can scarce find a grave.

I passed this day without anything to eat except the biscuit the woman gave me. At night I lay down to sleep, but hunger banished repose from my eyes; it was in vain that I courted sleep. When I closed my eyes imagination would picture to me the most delicious food passing in review before me. I frequently thrust out my hand for the luscious food, but alas it was but the delusions of a debilitated mind. About eleven o'clock at night an officer by the name of Flores, entered my room and asked the sentry if I had anything to eat. He replied "No." "Go," said the officer, "and tell Mr. Larkin to furnish him with food three times a day and charge it to the government." Now Mr. Larkin, soon after the country was taken, published a very elaborate article in one of the periodicals of the day in which he attempts to justify his conduct towards the prisoners, and says that he furnished the prisoners gratis, and the

deposed Governor Alvarado subscribed his name to the articles as witness. Now what conclusions are we to come at? From what the officer said to the sentry who guarded me, I should think that it argued very clearly that if Mr. Larkin was paid by the government for furnishing one prisoner that he was paid for all, but why did he publish such an article at all; if he had done no wrong? It was not necessary to publish to the world that he had done right; unless he had done so through a mistake; then it would have been perfectly right for him to correct his errors. Such are the phantoms of a guilty conscience. I did partake of Mr. Larkins boasted hospitality but once. In the morning he sent me a breakfast, for which I am extremely obliged to him and also to the government.

About ten o'clock a. m. the guard entered my apartment with two stout Indians who were ordered to shoulder me, which they did with little ceremony, and carried me to the landing.[30] Here I beheld my fellow prisoners; three and four were shackeled to long bars of iron. They were so pale, haggard, and wasted away that I hardly knew them. A boat was ready to receive us and we were all put aboard the barque Juspescona [*Joven Guipuzcoana*], formerly a New Orleans packet called the Roger Williams. As they were conveying me on board, Mr. Farnham ranged up alongside in his boat, and addressing me with a beneficent smile on his countenance, said, "I presume this is Mr. Morris?" I replied "Yes." "Keep up your spirits," said he, "I will see that your consul takes care of you." I thanked him and he passed on to his vessel.

We were forty-nine in number.[31] Every one of us had been taken prisoner while following our lawful vocation, and without the least shadow of cause, except a savage thirst for blood. We were all crammed down in the hold of the vessle. Those that were confined to the long bars of iron were obliged to lie on their backs against the damp ceiling of the vessle without a blanket to cover them.[32] Myself and Graham were confined abaft the main hatchway and not allowed to speak to any of the prisoners under pain of death, and a sentry was constantly kept between us with drawn bayonet in his hand, a butcher knife in his boot leg.

The barque weighed anchor and stood along the coast for Santa Barbara. Such of the prisoners as were able to sing would occasionally break the silence that reigned in horror around us, by singing "Rule Brittania" or "Hail Columbia."[33] The Spaniards on hearing these songs while we were confined in Monterey inquired what they meant, and were told by an old Scotchman that they were the war songs of England and America, and they were now highly incensed with them, and I heard the order given[34] to the soldiers to grind their butcher knives back and edge, and stab the first —— that opened his mouth. And they used to examine our irons three and very frequently four times a day with these murderous weapons in their hands, and as these men had never been to sea before, they were liable to be thrown down at every roll of

the vessel, and consequently were liable to mutilate and mangle the prisoners accidentally, without having special orders to do so. Our food was served up in a very dirty and filthy manner, and dealt out to us as though we were pigs (in fact I would rather be a New England farmer's pig than a Mexican prisoner), in small greasy tubs, four or five of us being obliged to eat together out of the same tub.

At length we arrived at Santa Barbara. We were all disembarked and conveyed in an old horse cart up to the Mission. Myself and Graham were the last to be carried up. The prisoners were cramped into an apartment so small that they could not lie down for the want of space to do so. As I passed by their prison, I saw them attempting to unrivet a pair of clasp shackles from the ankles of a young man. They were swollen in a shocking manner and the smith had a great deal of trouble to loosen the rivet. At length the bloodthirsty Tore,[36] the officer in command, became impatient, and said to the smith, "Oh never mind, cut the brute's guts out." I was put in[37] a room by myself, and passed the day and night without food. The next day I was confined in the same room with Graham, where I was furnished with a little food. About four p. m. a man by the name of Robert King was brought from the other prison into our room. He was speechless and purging and frothing at the mouth, he had been so closely confined, and for the want of fresh air, that he sank down under the weight of accumulated suffering and every moment was expected to be his last. The priest was called and the gasping man was baptized in the holy Catholic faith, and removed from our cell. I afterwards learned from him that he did not recover his speech for three weeks. The same afternoon one Mr. [William George] Chard was brought into our room in a most deplorable condition; he was just able to stand. He complained of a great pain in his chest and could not speak above a whisper, and was reduced to a mere skeleton and respired with great difficulty. They would all most certainly have perished had not our philanthropic friend, Thos. J. Farnham, who followed us with the eye of an eagle and the heart and feelings of a parent, arrived at this critical moment, his eyes sparkling with indignation as he addressed Jose Castro. "Throw open that prison door," said he, "and let my countrymen have fresh air. Why do you not treat them as you would wish to be yourself were you a prisoner?" The wretch trembled as justice thundered in his ears, and the prisoners were immediately removed to a more commodious apartment.

The next day Mr. Farnham came to see us all. One [Rafael] Pinto was officer of the day and had charge of the prisoners. Mr. Farnham addressed him and said, "You must allow my countrymen to come out and wash themselves in the large fountain in front of the Mission." Pinto replied that if he did so, he was afraid that they would run away. "I am here," said this lofty and high minded gentleman, "and know my countrymen. They would scorn to turn their backs on you." Pinto went immediately to see Juan Castro, but

soon returned, and all the prisoners were allowed to come out and wash themselves in the fountain, which revived us much for we had not been allowed to wash ourselves since we were first taken prisoners, and were in a most filthy and ragged condition.[38] Having washed ourselves, I had the satisfaction of conversing with Mr. Farnham for more than an hour, but in the presence of Pinto. Mr. Farnham told us all to keep up our spirits, that he should follow us wherever we went, that he was determined to see us all righted or perish with us.This was spoken in a manner which left no room to doubt his sincerity. He then turned to Pinto and said, "I am afraid that you do not give my countrymen sufficient to eat. Mind how you treat them." He then turned to me and said, "Mr. Morris, I shall always be with you, fear nothing." After cheering us all that lay in his power, he took leave of us with many expressions of kindness and assurance that he should watch over us to the last and we were all ordered into our respective prisons.

They had during our stay here employed a smith to cut the long bars of iron so that each prisoner was accommodated with a separate pair. The next day they were all riveted on, and we were all, excepting the sick persons, before mentioned, conveyed on board the vessel and crammed down in the hold as usual. The vessel was got under way and stood along the coast for San Diego. We suffered much. A large tub was let down for the use of the prisoners, and was left standing for several days together full of filth, which caused a horrid stench, and we were obliged to eat our meals in the midst of this putrid and pestilential atmosphere, in fact this had been the case from the first day of our going on board at Monterey.

The vessel put into San Diego, but stopped only for a few hours. Here they put one of the prisoners on shore, which reduced our number to forty-six, twenty-three Americans and twenty-three Englishmen. On leaving this port the owner of the vessel[39] told Jose Castro, that they were advancing into a hot climate, and that the prisoners must be allowed to remain on deck during the day, otherwise they would breed a pestilence on board and endanger the lives of all hands. We were accordingly brought on deck. Myself and Graham were placed on the starboard side amidships, the rest on the larboard side opposite to us, with a sentry stationed between us to prevent us speaking to each other. This sentry frequently pricked me with his bayonet if I did not happen to stand to please him, and would hiss at me as though I was a dog. At night I was confined with Mr. Graham in a small stateroom in the upper cabin and a sentry at the door. During the night our irons were examined so often that we could get no sleep from their frequently pulling and hauling our irons. This they continued to do for several days, when Graham made a complaint to Jose Castro, when their visits became less frequent, but often enough to be sufficiently annoying.

After a passage of seventeen days from San Diego we came to anchor in the harbor of San Blas. In a short space of time a schooner came in and passed

within pistol shot of us. On her quarter deck we beheld our old friend Thos. J. Farnham. He cheered us by waving his hat to us as he passed by. In the afternoon my irons were taken off for the first time since they were put on. The rest of the prisoners were also taken out of their irons, and we were all landed, and marched up to the old Spanish fort at San Blas. Jose Castro[40] immediately set out for Tepic, and the command of the escort was given to Joaquin Tores. We retired to rest without anything to eat.

In the morning I was talking to Graham, when Tores came up to me, drew his sword, and threatened to cut me down, for what reason I know not; I had said nothing to give offense. During the day the Captain of an English brig came to see us, and made us a present of forty dollars. This generous hearted gentleman's name I never knew [possibly Captain Clifford], but all of us are under lasting obligations to him, for with the money we were able to purchase refreshments on the road to Tepic, a distance of at least seventy miles.

On the third day[41] after landing, the escort moved forward under a vertical sun, over a rough, rocky and mountainous road, the prisoners barefoot, ragged, and worn down with suffering. We had not marched more than five miles when our feet were completely blistered, cut, and lacerated with the sharp stones, and the blood gushed out from our wounds at every step, yet if anyone lagged behind through pain or exhaustion, he was hurried on with the blows from the breech of a musket and sabres. We arrived late in the evening at a farm house, where with the money the English Captain gave us, we bought some milk for our supper, and retired to rest under some shady trees. Early in the morning we were again on the road without anything to eat, and suffering beyond description from our wounded and swollen feet. About three o'clock we arrived at what is called the Half-way House belonging to E.[ustace] Barron, Esq. British Consul in Tepic. I was very thirsty, and as I was entering the house to get a drink of water, a sergeant drew his bayonet and threatened to run me through the body. I retired to a shady tree in the yard and sat down. The house was kept by a woman. She made all haste and prepared a good dinner for us all and invited us to sit down and eat heartedly. Tores seeing this began to scold and upbraid her for treating a parcel of prisoners with so much respect, and neglecting Mexican officers and soldiers in their own dominion. The woman replied, "This house, sir, belongs to the British Consul, and I have received special orders to give the prisoners as much as they can eat and drink, and not to give you a mouthful unless you pay for it. Mr. Tores was taken all aback, and appeared much crestfallen, and was more mild in his deportment to the prisoners.

Early the next morning we were again on the road, the prisoners suffering beyond measure from their feet. The escort halted a little before sunset at a small brook, a few miles distant from Tepic. Here they cleaned up their accoutrements in the best manner they could, as on the morrow they expected to enter the City in triumph amidst the roar of cannon and all the small shot of the City.

Early in the morning the escort moved forward, and about eight o'clock just as we were entering the suburbs of the city, a herald met us and told us to halt. No cannon were fired, no demonstrations of victory and joy were to be heard or seen, and the Californian officers looked as though they had seen a vision.[42] While we remained here crowds of women came to see us, and every one of them had something to give us to eat or drink. At length another herald arrived and ordered the escort to advance. We entered the city in a few minutes, and were safely lodged in a commodious building with a large yard attached to it, situated in Suffering Street, and a guard of Mexican soldiers was placed over us instead of the Californians. In a few minutes the British Consul[43] entered and addressing us, said, "Mr. Farnham has behaved like a father to you all. Had it not been for his kindness towards you, you might have passed through this city without my knowledge. You are all Britons and not a hair of your heads shall be hurt. If you are marched from this place, I will march with you."[44] He then retired and in a short time sent us a plenty of clothing, blankets, and mats to sleep on, and food not only sufficient for ourselves, but for all the soldiers that guarded us, and so plentifully were we supplied, that we never ate without inviting the guard to eat with us, which they never refused to do. The poor unfortunate devils never fared so sumptuously in their lives, and were heartily sorry when we obtained our liberty as they then lost their rations.

In the meantime Colonel Nagrette, who resided in the city, and was Governor of Jarlisco, had assembled his officers, Jose Castro being present, when the British Consul came in and said to Jose Castro, "I wish to see your depositions. I wish to see what you have against my countrymen." J. Castro replied, "I shall show them to your betters." The consul replied, "To my betters, that you can never do, but to your betters you may possibly show them." "Do you know," said the Consul, "to whom you are talking? You will recollect that from this moment henceforward that you and all your officers are British prisoners, not Mexican prisoners, but British prisoners"; and turning to the Governor said, "Do you, sir, confine this man and all of his officers to prison," which was immediately done. J. Castro was thunderstruck, he could not understand how that one solitary British officer could make him a prisoner in the heart of the Mexican dominions, but real facts and cold realities convinced him that it was true.

About the same time Captain [French] Forrest with the United States sloop of war, San Louis, had arrived in the Harbor of Monterey, and held a correspondence with Alvarado, the Governor of California, inquiring into the cause of the arrest of his countrymen, and their expulsion from the country. To his inquiries the Governor responded but two or three times, (I do not recollect now which) when he became so alarmed that he basely deserted his post as Governor, and fled to the Mission of San Johns [San Juan], in the interior of the country, and by so doing came pretty near having the town

battered in to a mass of ruins by the guns of the San Louis. Thus we had the satisfaction of seeing our enemies taking the fresh air of the morning upon the flat roof of their prison, while enjoying cooling breezes and the fine prospect from the flat roof of ours.

At length the Consul received instructions from the British Minister in Mexico to release Castro and allow him to come to the City of Mexico and enter the complaint against the prisoners to his Government. The consul having kept them prisoners for sixteen days, released them, saying to Castro, "To show you that we are better men than you are and have better principles, I will let you go and show your depositions to your betters, while I keep my country[men] shut up." Our invaluable friend Thos. J. Farnham, used to call and see us every day, never failing to be obedient, and obey the British Consul in all things, that we were all of us now under his immediate care and protection, and that he would soon restore us all to our liberty. Mr. Farnham having done all that he could do for us, by seeing us placed under the care of the British Consul, and out of danger from any Mexican power, made preparations to leave for the City of Mexico, and came to bid us adieu, and to tell us for the last time to love, honor, and obey the British Consul. Our parting was a severe trial on both sides; as we gathered around him to take a last shake of his hand many an eye moistened, and I could now and then detect a tear stealing down his manly cheek.

At length our trials came on, and we were all acquitted as innocent and injured men,[45] and they were compelled by the British Government to furnish a vessel and transport such of the prisoners as wished to return, back to California,[46] and they were told by the British Government in plain terms that the foreigners had as much right to live in California as they had, and should not be driven out. It is possible that the prisoners may never during their lives find two such friends again as Thos. J. Farnham and Eustace Barron, H. B. M.'s Consul at Tepic. When the anniversary of the Independence of the United States arrived, he furnished all the prisoners with money to celebrate the day. He did the same on St. Patrick's day, in fact whenever a gala day arrived the prisoners had nothing to do but to ask him for money and it was forthcoming, and he also paid some pretty heavy bills that the prisoners ran up with some merchants of the place after their liberation. Let none of the prisoners say aught against the British Consul and Mr. Farnham unless they wish to bring themselves to shame and confusion.

From the time of our arrest to the time of our liberation was seven months and ten days,[47] during which time one person died in prison and two almost immediately after their release, and one terminated his existence by the accidental discharge of his pistol at San Blas the day before we sailed for California.

[*To be continued*]

NOTES TO PART I

1. MS-B: ". . . and travelled two hundred and fifty miles down the peninsula. . . ." This probably refers to the distance from Los Angeles. Actually, Real del Castillo is only 70 to 80 miles southeast of San Diego.

2. Valle de San Rafael.

3. Santa Catalina Virgen y Mártir, the last mission established by the Dominicans, was founded November 12, 1797. About thirty miles northeast of San Vicente, its nearest mission neighbor, and near the pass called El Portezuelo, it stood on a small hill overlooking part of the extensive Alamo Plain. In 1824 it had the largest population of any of the Dominican missions, but in 1840 it was burned by Indians and sixteen of the neophytes were killed.

4. Agua Caliente in La Palma canyon. MS-B: "Here also were springs of pure cool water and a small Indian village. The indians only resided here at certain seasons of the year, for the purpose of gathering the meschal plant, of which they are verry fond, it being extremely sweet when baked or roasted and of which the Spaniards make a liquor called vino de meschal."

5. MS-B: ". . . which caused my stomach to heave equal to that indured by Sancho Panzas after taking a doce of Don Quixotes Celebrated balsam."

6. MS-B: ". . . set before us boiled beans pumpkins mellons and corn, of which they had a plenty."

7. MS-B: "There had formerly been a Mission on the Red River near the mouth of the Gila, but while the Spaniards were celebrating mass, the Indians rose and massacred the whole of them except one woman, who made her escape and reached San Diego and when we passed through that town on our way to Red River she was still living though at a verry advanced age. From this Mission it is reasonable to suppose they got their supply of seed, of which they were verry carefull." This doubtless has reference to the destruction of the Missions of San Pedro and San Pablo on the lower Colorado and the disaster which befell Captain Rivera y Moncada in 1781. See Bancroft, *History of California*, I, 361 *et seq.*

8. MS-B: "The third day after our arrival. . . ."

9. MS-B: "As we intended to assend the River in canoes it was necessary for us to pass over the Eeastern shore of the River, there being immece forests of Cottonwood upon that side. Having made known our intentions to the Chief, He set his people to work constructing a raft of tule or rushes. While the work was progressing, we witnessed a combat between two of their principal warriors, they were tall stout athletic fellows, and had been gambling which brought on a dispute, they were not long in resorting to their bows and arrows. I soon discovered that the person who gave the first shot, had decidedly the advantage by keeping up sutch a rapid discharge of arrows, that his antagonist found a plenty of employment in attempting to avoid them, by jumping first to one side and then to the other, but in spite of his agility he was severely wounded, and would have been killed, had it not been for the timely interference of the Chief who taking position in front of the wounded man, restored order much sooner than I anticipated. These wild men of the forest have great veneration and respect for their chiefs allways listening to them in profound silence, and ever ready to obey his mandate at a moments warning. Surgical aid being called to attend the wounded man, I had an opportunity to observe his skill in performing an operation. The only instrument that he used was a flint arrow head this he introduced into the wound, and made an incision an inch in depth and three inches in length, and then pressed the wound with his fingers, not in a verry gentle manner, in fact he reminded me of a butcher cutting up pork, and used as little caution or Ceremony. The wounded man bore it with equal

indifference, and did not flinch nor alter a muscle during the operation. Our raft being ready, the indians passed us over the River where we were received by the chief of that side of the River. The mild expression of his countenance, and the friendly manner in which he treated us, convinced me that he was naturly a kind and benevolent man. He kept with us during the day, and at night slept not far from us."

10. MS-B: "They are verry fond of painting themselves white from head to foot, they also use other kinds of paint, but generally prefer white. On the banks of the River there is a verry fine clay of many different colors. With this they plaster up their hair in the most grotesque forms, washing it off at evenings and replaceing it in the morning with fresh clay."

11. MS-B: "While we were with them one of their tribe died they did not mourn for him immediately, but a day was set when the friends of the disceased were to assemble for that purpose."

12. MS-B: "When they wish to declare war against a neighboring tribe They have two sticks about five feet in length, with the wing and tail feathers of the hawk or Eagle fastened upon the side of each stick, and extending nearly their entire length. With these sticks they march into the enemies Country, stick their points in the ground about one foot apart, with the feathers pointing outward. This done war glorious war is declared to all intents and purposes. Should either party wish to make peace, they repare to the sticks and turn them with their feathers pointing inward, after which matters are adjusted."

13. MS-B: ". . . it was with the utmost difficulty that we could perform a journey of seven or eight miles per day."

14. MS-B: "On their arrival the most catholic and christian Spanish Governor instead of looking upon them with a lenient eye, and considering them as men forced into his dominions by adverse fortune, and suffering for food and other necessary supplies, he thrust them all into prison, as though they had invaded his jurisdiction with hostile intentions, where many of them perished for the want of food, and diseases attending long confinement in loathsome filthy prisons. For many months were they kept in close confinement, suffering beyond measure from famine disease and the imperious insolence of an uncultivated lazy lousy ragged Spanish Governor and his people."

15. MS-B: "After being detained for more than two years, one Mr Pattie whose father had perished in the loathsome prison of San Diego obtained passports and returned home to the United States. Messrs Pope & Slover obtained permission to go and get their furs, but on opening the pit, they found all their furs were distroyed by the overflowing of the River, thus after infinite toil danger privations and hardships, those persevereing men were doomed through the villany of a ragged dirty Spanish Governor to loose property to the amount of fifteen or twenty thousand dollars, the product of many hard months labor in the Rocky Mountains and other parts of the Country." See also J. O. Pattie, *Personal Narrative*, Cincinnati, 1831.

16. MS-B: "We set out for the River, and soon came to its channel which to our surprise we found to be perfectly dry. We passed several channels of the River all of them being dry. This variety of channels is caused by the snow melting in the mountains and the heavy periodical rains, when the whole valley presents one vast ocean of water rolling in its majesty into the Gulf of California. The Indians are sufficiently cautious to leave the valley for the high lands on the first appearance of the riseing of the River."

17. MS-B: "I perceived my adversary still drawn up in order of battle, I immediately brought my old United States musket loaded with five Rifle balls to bear upon him, and poured in a broadside, when the recoil of the gun, caused me to go through with a well

known military movement, that is retireing from the Centre at double quick time, his music ceased and I was happy to find that he was completely dismantled, although my companions laughfed at me most heartily."

18. MS-B: ". . . which we completed in four or five days, and with the help of the Indians we soon launched them into the River."

19. MS-B: "Our progress up the River was of course very slow, as we were now looking for beaver, and wherever we saw fresh sign we invariably set our traps and halted for the night, but that fickle jade dame fortune, did by no means favour us, it was very seldom that we caught a beaver. In a few days our stock of provissions were intirely exhausted, and our subsistence became very precarious some times we did not take more than one Beaver in a week, which was scanty supply for the stumochs of four hungary men, some times we had the good fortune to get something to eat once in two days. at other times once in three days. . . ."

20. MS-B: ". . . the indians never refusing to give us sutch eatables as they had, presuming that our stumochs like their own possessed the gastric humours of an ostrich, and were capable of digesting glass. They came nigh killing us with kindness. We remained in their village four or five days, as the nights were now cold, and I lean and poor, I felt the cool air of night more sensibly, I thought I would take up my lodgings in one of their temeschalls. their form is like that of a sugarloaf. . . ."

21. MS-B: ". . . and thirty beaver skins, which was quite as much as the poor animal could stagger under."

22. MS-B: "At evening we encamped in the plain near a pool of stagnant water, the cold night air pierced our weak and emaciated bodies like a knife. In the morning having finished our frugal repast of boiled beans, we again renewed our journey, and at evening took up our lodgings a short distance in the mountain pass. In the morning our guides pointed out to us the road or path to the argua Caliente de los Palmas (or hot water of the Palm trees) and then left us, and we proceeded on our journey winding our way through the narrow defiles and passes in the mountains, and towards the close of the day fell in with a spring of water and camped for the night, and in the morning eat the last of our provissions. We now had four days journeys to make, and very long ones, by far to long for our weak frames to perform, but to be performed they must, and to accomplish this we were obliged to rise very early and travel very late, long before daylight we were upon the road and very late in the night arrived at the Argua Caliente de los Palmas, the indians had left after having feasted themselves on the meschall plant, a species of the Cactus. We contented ourselves as well as men in our situation possably could, I could not help thinking how I had been duped by the fine stories that I had heard of hunting, but now that I saw real facts, and cold realities, the charm and romance of hunting, vanished like vapour before the sun."

23. MS-B: "Here I overtook Moses B. Carson [Kit Carson's half-brother], the man who employed me He had arrived several hours before me, on account of my detention with Mr Ferguson. I related to him Mr Fergusons situation, when he immediately set out for Costellas, leaving me and a frenchman behind."

NOTES TO PART II

1. Bancroft says that Nicolás Alviso, who was at Monterey in 1826, was the son of Francisco Javier Alviso and a nephew of the Ignacio Alviso who came to San Francisco with the Anza colonists in 1776. He was grantee of Alisal, Sauzal, and Natividad, suplente of diputacion from 1827 to 1828, major domo and alcalde at Soledad in 1835, and took part in the arrest of Graham in 1840.

2. Like many uninformed Protestants, Morris incorrectly calls the Franciscan padres Jesuits.

NOTES TO PART III

1. MS-B: "During our absence on the Red River a Revolution had taken place. . . ."
2. MS-B: ". . . at the head of the insurrection."
3. MS-B: ". . . when he became firmly seated in power that he would expell them all out of the country."
4. MS-B: "They accordingly mustered thirty or forty men. . . ."
5. MS-B: "In the mean time Lieut Coppinger had elevated the guns in the battery for the Generals quarters."
6. MS-B: ". . . placed a centry upon the roof of his House, to watch the movements of the raw Rancheros as he termed the foreigners, and tasked his military skill to its utmost in devising means how and in what manner he should dislodge his enemy, and secure his own authority upon a firmer basis. The time allowed Him for deliberation was fast expiring; at the expiration of which a Categorical answer must be given to the summons, His fate now trembled in the ballance, His forces were drawn up in the square of the pracidio awaiting his orders, He frequently addressed them, saying that the foreigners were a parcel of raw recruits who knew nothing of military tactics, that he would soon dislodge them, while endeavouring to console himself with bravado and bombastic speeches. the time allowed him for deliberation expired. Capt Graham immediately informed Alvarado that the time was up and that no answer had been received, that the moment for active operations had arrived, that he should give orders for the cannonade to commence. Alvarado beged him to wait a little longer that he might have time to dispatch another herald to Butieras, to which Capt Graham consented, but the Governor declining to give any answer and the time allowed him having a second time expired, Capt. Graham declared to Alvarado that he would wait no longer that he should immeditely open fire let the consequences be what they would, that his men had been under arms during the whole night and were impatient to try their strength with their enemy, while they were in conversation, Capt Graham gave Coppinger the wink, he understood its meaning, and immediately discharged one of the twenty four pounders, the shot passed through the tiled roof of the Governors house a little below the ridgepole, the Centry upon the roof descended at double quick time, and informed his General that the men in the battery were no fools, that they knew how to handle cannon as well as he did."
7. MS-B: ". . . having left a body of Californians in the battery to defend Monterey."
8. MS-B: ". . . who were posted in the Mission with several pieces of artillery."
9. MS-B: "Capt Graham and his men after being exposed for several days to the storm of rain that was poured upon them in Cataracts, finally told Alvarado that he could not restrain his men any longer, and that if he did not march immediately that he would attack the enemy with his rifle company alone."
10. MS-B: "Not a Californian was to be seen, they had all sneaked off, they had no occasion to hide, for we did not want them. we were enoughf, and knew well how to deal a deadly shot when necessary."
11. MS-B: "We filed into a ravine and marched up the right bank, in line of battle, to within one hundred yards of the battery, when Capt Graham commanded us to halt, while he and Lieut Coppinger reconoitred the breastworks."
12. MS-B: ". . . their guns loaded with round and grape shot. Capt Grahams plan of attack was to charge and mount the walls of the battery which were not very high and to keep up a most deadly and heavy fire from their summit."
13. MS-B: "The prisoners were delivered over to the California Authorities."
14. MS-B: ". . . as far as the Mission of San Megil [Miguel]."
15. MS-B: "Now let us see how nobly this most excellent Governor, treated the men

who had served him so faithfully, who had risked their lives in his services and were the Sole cause of his Success and his being Governor General of all the Californias. In the first place he never granted them one inch of land nor in his heart did he ever intend to, tis true that he gave them orders on the government for the payment of the three dollars per day. which the men were obliged to sell to grocers and dram sellers for a mere trifle, and take that trifle, in flimsy goods that were barely worth carrying away. In fact he was meanly jealous of them as foreigners and threw every obstacle in their way that his spleen and ill humour could invent, if a man was seen following any lucrative business and there was no law to prevent him from following—sutch business, a grand Junto was immediately called and a law passed prohibiting any person from following said employment under a penalty allmost amounting to a prohibition. The person was then called before the authorities, and not only heavily fined but insulted, in fact if a person was not a roman catholic his oath would not be taken at all, he was insultingly told that he was not a christian, and not unfrequently that he was a Jew, and that his word was not to be taken, frequently when a foreigner was on trial a trancient person who knew nothing of the case pending would come in and advise the alcalde or Justice of the peace what to do with him. Consequently it was next to an impossability to obtain the least shadow of Justice, unless the foreigner had money sufficient to purchase a little of the precious article and even then it was dealt out with a spareing hand.

"The foreigners were many times called before the authorities for the purpose of ascertaining their numbers, and were told that they did not know at what minute they might be sent out of the Country, and in case of non appearance he or they were fined fifty dollars, and in default of the money to pay said fine the person was sent to public work. No one had any objections to their taking the Census of the foreigners, but the imperious and overbearing manner in which it was done, the harsh insulting and unnecessary language that was made use of, could not fail to arouse the indignation of the foreigners, their threats of Sending them out of the Country was in evry mans mouth from the Governor down to the filthiest indian in the country. Flaming hand bills were sent to different parts of the Country in which it was set forth that the foreigners were going to rise and murder men women and children, without distincton, and calling on the inhabitants to hold themselves in readiness to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of their Country, their wives and their children, had their been the least shadow of truth in these assertions their might be some excuse for the manner in which they finally treated us. but here was not the least ground for suspicion (and if sutch had been really the case they would have been very Cautious how they killed children.)"

16. MS-B: "A foreigner living near the ranch of Gillroy had the good fortune to see one of these publications, and immediately gave information, but there had been so much threatning of the kind, and nothing material having been done, but little attention was paid to the report, nor could the foreigners believe that after they had done so much for the Governor, that he could possably be so foul and base a wretch, as to destroy or even desire the destruction of men who had stood firm by his side, through all his trials and troubles, and through whose exertions he was under lasting obligations for his now elevated Station in life, and was at the same time indebted to a foreigner in a great measure for his education."

17. MS-B: "Plans had been matured for their distruction, and they only waited for the favourable moment to begin, when the governor had promised himself the satisfaction and pleasure of feasting his bloodthirsty appetite on the blood of his best friends, who were to be brought like bullocks to the Slaughter, and their blood spilt to gratify the capricious and jealous temper of this blackhearted and dark minded wretch, this adventitious plant this devil in human flesh whose whole body was a den of fiends as

foul and black as those that guard the great prince of darkness whose very presence is more nauceous to an honest mind than the dregs and dross of damnation or the beverage of hell. At length the night arrived to commence the fatal tragedy, for they dare not commit so black a deed in open daylight, but had chosen the dark hour of deep midnight."

18. MS-B: ". . . my blood boiling in my veins and passion blowing a gale, at the inhuman manner in which myself and my friends were treated, and without a cause. but to return to Messrs Graham and Nail. Capt Graham was laying asleep with his cloak spread over him, when they entered his room and commenced a rapid discharge of pistols, seven balls passed through his cloak, and a buck shot entered his arm, he being a stout athletic man sprang out of bed and cleared his way to the door, here a severe struggle ensued but he was finally overpowered with numbers, a rope was then made fast to his arm and passed to a man on horseback who takeing a turn round the head of his saddle, and a possee holding Graham by the body and legs, they indeavoured to haul his arm from his body. but the rope broke, several blows were leveled at him with sabres, but a half indian who wished to save his life threw himself between them, by this means his life was spared. Mr. Nail received a severe lance wound through his thigh and a deep sabre wound in the leg, but succeeded in gaining the willow swamp, but was obliged to surrender in the morning on account of the severity of his wounds and loss of blood. In the morning Capt Graham was loaded with irons, and ordered to call Morris. He told them that he did not know where he was and if he did, that he would not come if he called, they then put a lance to his breast and demanded his money, he told them that he had none, they then ransacked the house and found seven hundred dollars in cash, which they kept, in fact they plundered the premises of evrything that they could conveniently carry away. Having left a thieving drunken Scoundrel in charge of the premisis, and to take care of Mr. Nail whose wounds were sutch that he could not be moved, they set out for Monterey where on their arrival Capt Graham was confined in prison."

19. MS-B: "Capt. Thompson of Santa Barbara."

20. MS-B: "During my stay here I sent secretly to Mrs. [Joseph L.] Majors for some ammunition as I had the misfortune to loose mine upon the road comeing from the distillery to this place. This philanthropic and most excellent woman, whose husband was now a prisoner in monterey, sent me all the lead she had in the house, had some of our countrymen been possessed of the same lofty and noble sentiments, it is possable that we might not have been sent out of the country."

21. MS-B: "Elijahness the frenchman." Spelled "Elijah Ness" in Bancroft's "Pioneer Index" and in MS-A, but probably Lajeuness.

22. MS-B: "sixteen."

23. MS-B: ". . . that he had received special orders from the Governor to take me dead or a live."

24. MS-B: "An Italian by the name of [Nicolás] Dodaro. . . ."

25. MS-B: ". . . by the name of Juan Pavis. . . ." "Juan Paris" [Perez?] in MS-A.

26. MS-B: "Spinosa," i.e., Espinosa.

27. MS-B: ". . . the priest said mass over me."

28. MS-B: "He was standing in front of Mr. Larkins house and was addressing. . . ."

29. MS-B: ". . . that he was of the anglo Saxon race and that he must needs be a friend."

30. MS-B: "(They tryed in evry possable way that their vein of ill humour could invent to wound and mortify our feelings, by heaping upon us all kinds of indignity.)"

31. MS-B: "We were forty-six in number—twenty three Englishmen and twenty three Americans."

32. MS-B: ". . . in fact there was but little clothing amongst us except what was on our backs."

33. MS-B: ". . . and the Star Spangled banner, their voices were weak and feeble but as the glory of Old England and the United States of America warmed their bosoms, they seemed to gain strength, and the sides of the old Barque resounded with the songs of battle."

34. MS-B: ". . . Theored Joaquin Tores a bloodthirsty wretch give orders. . . ."

35. MS-B: "the blacksmith."

36. MS-B: "Joaquin Tores."

37. MS-B: ". . . one of the Mission buildings in. . . ."

38. MS-B: ". . . the Spaniards no doubt thought that our filthy ragged and degraded condition would disgust our respective consuls, and that they would take no notice of us on our arrival in Mexico."

39. MS-B: "When She got under weigh and stood along the Coast for San Blass, the owner of the vessel Don Antonio Aegira [José Antonio Aguirre]. . . ."

40. MS-B: ". . . immediately landed and did his utmost to prevent Mr Farnham from proceeding on his journey to Tepic but all to no purpose, as he had obtained his passports and was just on the point of starting, and as I afterwards learned from Mr Farnham, they endeavoured to way lay him on the road, but missed their object. Jose Castro followed close upon the heels of Mr Farnham."

41. MS-B: "On the second day. . . ."

42. MS-B: ". . . there were some strange looking faces among the military, they had evidently undergone a severe change."

43. MS-B: "Col Barron British Consul. . . ."

44. MS-B: "We were now evidently under his care allthough he could not with propriety immediately set us at liberty, our case must be examined."

45. MS-B: ". . . we were tried before the highest tribunal of the Country, and were honorably discharged as innocent and injured men, and were set at liberty after having been prisoners of State seven months and ten days."

46. MS-B: "After our release I went to the Citty of Mexico with Capt Graham, and on our return the British Government compelled Mexico to furnish a vessel and bring us back to California. . . ."

47. MS-B: "From the time of our arrest untill our return to California, was fifteen months and some fourteen or sixteen days."

THE PASSING OF SPANISH CALIFORNIA, SEPTEMBER 29, 1822

By George Tays

Few if any of the many writers on California history have ever stopped to consider the Hispanic American wars of independence. Most every one seems to think that California, as an outpost of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, automatically became a part of Mexico when that country declared its independence in 1821. That, however, was not the case. California did not really become a part of the Mexican state, under the new government, until September 29, 1822.

From the very day of its discovery, Upper California had been only an outpost of empire. It was the most distant, and at the same time the most inaccessible of all the Spanish possessions, regardless of whether it was approached from the north, south, east or west. Being thus off the beaten paths of commerce it was the most undeveloped of the provinces in New Spain. California's contacts with the outside world up to 1810 had been few and at long intervals. Its society, therefore, was a rather primitive pastoral and paternalistic one. The missionaries in the province were all Spanish-born, and so were most of the older white settlers. The rest of the white population, born in Mexico or native to California, had nevertheless been bred in an atmosphere of complete loyalty to the Spanish Monarchy. Therefore, when the wars of independence broke out in Hispanic America, the naive minds of the Spanish Californians were still untrammeled by the advanced political theories that were at large in the more sophisticated world.

During the course of the revolutions California remained peaceful and wholly detached from all military activities. In fact, the majority of the inhabitants were scarcely conscious that anything unusual was transpiring. Years passed, but except for an occasional report little was heard of the progress of the independence movement. The Californians remained loyal to Spain throughout this period. In 1818, however, their loyalty was put to a severe test, with the arrival in Monterey of the naval expedition from the Argentine, led by a Frenchman, General Hypolite Bouchard. This so-called patriotic enterprise came with the avowed purpose of inducing the Californians to join in the fight for freedom. They received a rather cool welcome, however, so the patriots in a last desperate effort to thaw the seemingly frozen spirit of the Californians, for the cause of liberty, set fire to Monterey. The flames accomplished their purpose to the extent of kindling the spirit of the Californians to fight the invaders and to increase their loyalty to Spain. The expedition re-

turned to South America, and the Californians thereafter, although remaining on the alert, took no further part in the wars.

Mexico finally won its independence in 1821, but so far as California was concerned there had been no change. This province was still loyal to the motherland, and the Spanish flag still waved majestically over Monterey. Although the news concerning Mexican independence had finally arrived in California, nothing was done. For months everything went on peacefully, although the people and the officials were uncertain regarding the course of action they wished to take. While the Californians hesitated, a number of offers were received from various Mexican states, from Guatemala and even from far away Peru, asking California to join in political union. The territorial assembly of California considered these requests but failed to accept any of them.

All this time much doubt existed in Mexico as to what was happening in the distant northwestern outpost. Many unfounded rumors were current, and it was feared that California would become a center for Spanish reactionary movements. And well might they have feared it, for had Spain had five hundred well-armed and faithful soldiers in California, backed by its loyal population, Mexico never would have acquired control. Spain would have continued in its possession until such a time as the United States was ready to acquire it either by purchase or conquest. Such an acquisition might have come much later than it did. These assumptions are based on the fact that Mexico, due to internal disorders, never was able to accumulate the necessary resources at any one time, either in money or in men, to send an expedition of more than three hundred men to California. This was attempted on several occasions, but the expeditions projected never even got started. Since Spain did not have five hundred soldiers in California it was unable to hold the territory. All the preposterous rumors that were current were due, of course, to the lack of knowledge in both Mexico and California of what was going on. Finally, the Mexican Regency that had been established deemed it best to send an agent to California to ascertain the feeling of the pople; to foment a spirit of independence; to obtain an oath of allegiance; to set up the new machinery of government and to raise the new national flag.

Early in April, 1822, Canonigo[1] Agustin Fernandez was appointed as the agent, and he set out at once by way of San Blas. While the commissioner was on the way, on May 19, 1822, Iturbide was proclaimed emperor, but Fernandez continued on his voyage under his old commission. Don Agustin sailed from San Blas on the *San Carlos* and stopped at Loreto, in Lower California, where he was received by Governor José Arguello. Lower California having pledged its allegiance, Canonigo Fernandez proceeded on his way, by water, to Monterey, where he arrived on September 26. In the meantime, on July 14, the American ship *Panther* had arrived at Monterey. It had left San Blas in company with the *San Carlos,* but had sailed direct to Monterey. It brought

1. A canon, or prebendary.

the news about the agent and the new emperor. Governor Vicente de Sola, who was preparing to make a trip to Mexico, thereupon suspended his departure in order to receive Fernandez.

When the *San Carlos* anchored at Monterey, Canonigo Fernandez at once sent his credentials ashore to Governor Sola and to Father President Payeras, who acknowledged receipt of them on September 27. Canonigo Fernandez then landed and was received at the water's edge. The official records of what took place in the days that followed are very meager and the change of flag is barely mentioned; but the native Californians have left us various versions in their written recollections. Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, in his "History of California," still in manuscript in the Bancroft Library, gives an interesting account of the lowering of the Spanish flag. He writes that all the inhabitants of Monterey and the surrounding country assembled on the beach to see Fernandez land. The Governor and his staff in full uniform rode to meet him. Fernandez, followed by a large retinue of officials, stepped ashore and embraced all the members of the reception committee. He then, amid tumultous cheering, mounted a beautiful horse and rode to the Presidio, where the Governor had had quarters prepared for him. Being a good *populacho* (proletarian), Fernandez had declined to ride in the coach, because he wished to win the approval of the populace; and since he was a splendid looking man, he wanted to be seen by all. Then too, those who rode in the coach were dubbed aristocrats, and being an official of the new government, he declined to be an aristocrat. That evening Governor Sola tendered him an official reception at which everybody was present; and at the banquet table he refused the post of honor by the Governor's side and sat down at the table between Don José de la Guerra and Professor Aspiroz, again winning the acclaim of the multitude. The next day a religious service was held, followed by a dance in the evening. On September 29 the ceremony of lowering the Spanish flag took place. The day before, Fernandez had harangued the crowd, telling the people about the benefits they would derive from their new liberties and government. This was a sort of preparation for what was to take place on the morrow.

This day the ceremony was to take place on the parade ground. All officials and soldiers were in full uniform and civilians in their Sunday best. They formed a hollow square about the flagpole in the center of the plaza. The artillery was placed on the east side, the infantry on the south, the cavalry on the north, while the populace occupied the west side of the square. It was about noontime when Canonigo Fernandez and Governor Sola, in full uniform and decorations of office, advanced from their quarters preceded by a guard of honor carrying the new imperial flag.

A strained silence had fallen over the assemblage; not a sound was heard, and every pair of eyes was riveted upon the group of men as they advanced

slowly to this staff. They reached the base, stood at attention and saluted. Then the Canonigo, in a clear, sonorous voice that reached every corner of the grounds, gave the order: "Strike the Royal Banner of Spain!" Two soldiers advanced to the mast and, seizing its halyards, slowly hauled it down. A painful hush held the crowd motionless; and many an eye must have been bedimmed with tears as the royal standard of Castile slowly fluttered downward, its rampant lion hidden in its folds. Three centuries to the year had come and gone since it had been planted by its valiant sons upon these western shores. For three hundred years it had waved defiance to its foes in every clime and every sea. Now it was passing, its power was on the wane, falling impotent before its foes, it was to vanish forever from the Western Hemisphere.

As the flag was about to reach the ground, Governor Sola stepped forward. He caught its silken folds in his arms. For a moment the grizzled veteran stood motionless, with head bowed, as the guard loosed the banner from the halyards. What pangs of anguish must have surged within his heart! What memories coursed through his grey head! And perhaps a tear rolled down his weathered cheek as he held the red and gold emblem clutched tightly to his breast—the flag for which he would have shed his last drop of blood. Not a whisper, not a word had broken the stillness. With a sigh the Governor turned to Fernandez. "They do not cheer, because they are unused to independence," he explained. Then Canonigo Fernandez stepped forward and ordered: "Hoist the Imperial Flag of Mexico!" The new colors were run up. As the green, white, and red standard unfolded to the breeze, Fernandez cried: "Long Live Mexican Independence! Long Live Emperor Augustin I!"

The populace took up the cry, and as the echoes died away in the distance, a salvo of twenty-one guns and three rounds of musketry roared a salute to the new Empire. Spanish California had passed into history.

STABBING OF OFFICER HOPKINS BY JUDGE TERRY.

General Affray on Jackson Street, on Saturday, June 21st, 1856.

"When they had nearly reached the Armory, Hopkins pressed forward to arrest Maloney, in doing which he had to pass Judge Terry, who was bringing up the rear of the retreating forces. Terry presented his gun and endeavored to stop Hopkins, and a scuffle ensued for the gun, when Terry drew a large knife and plunged it into Hopkins' neck, making a very dangerous if not fatal wound.

MOUNTED BATTALION IN MOTION,

CORNER OF MONTGOMERY AND WASHINGTON STS.

In fifteen minutes after the Vigilance Alarm Bell had sounded, a company of about one hundred mounted men, armed with Sabres and Revolvers, dashed through the streets, and surrounded the Armory where Judge Terry and his associates had taken refuge.

THE TERRY-HOPKINS AFFAIR

From a letter sheet in the Templeton Crocker Collection.

THE LAW AND ORDER VIEW OF THE SAN FRANCISCO VIGILANCE COMMITTEE OF 1856

Taken from the Correspondence of Governor J. Neely Johnson
Arranged for Publication by

Herbert G. Florcken

Part III

General Cazneau, stationed in the mining town of Columbia and commanding the State Militia in Tuolumne County, was much interested in the Governor's troubles. He wrote to General Kibbe on June 20, asking for information concerning events in San Francisco, to which Kibbe replied:

THE CAZNEAU-KIBBE CORRESPONDENCE[46]

Off. Qr. Mr. & Adjt General Cal
San Francisco June 24, 1856

Sir;

Yours of the 20th inst was received yesterday. Since your letter was written we have had exciting scenes here, expected general havoc, but we were instantaneously surrounded and had no discretion but to surrender our arms and give up the men wanted—

This humiliating spectacle was brought about from the fact that we had made no preparation for an attack—Our men were scattered at the time and when they ralleyed each armory was surrounded by from 2 to 4000 armed men. Consequently nothing could be done with our men chiefly upon the outside without arms—The fact is as you well know that Civilians make good fighting men but without experience it is preposterous to suppose that one in a thousand has qualifications to plan a campaign right in the enemy's camp without exposing a small force on every side—My advice was to go into camp susceptible of defense or permit each man to keep his musket under his own bed, instead of in a defenseless armory.

I expect advice tonight—and will advise you of any movement hereafter—The Governor cannot recede in my opinion and should never think of doing so. All we have to do is to profit by our past experiences—Would you not advise this? I think it might be well to go into camp with such forces as can be readily raised—What is the feeling in Tuolumne at this time?

You may think me a little severe in portraying the causes which aided in placing us in our present dilemma. This is what I truly believe and of course is to be considered "Sub rosa"

Give me your plan
Your Obt Servt.
WM. C. KIBBE

Gen. T. N. Cazneau — Qr. Mr. & Adjt. General Cal.
Comdg. 2nd Brigade 3rd Division Mil.

Cazneau's reply shows that he had but little conception of the state of mind of the people of San Francisco.

Columbia June 26th 1856.

General,

Yours of the 24th inst is at hand—I had foreseen that the capture of state arms by the Insurgents would defeat the projected movement of state troops —I concur with you in the wisdom of going into camp for instruction, having no confidence in undisciplined forces—I am decidedly of opinion that the Executive owes it to the people, to those who have remained faithful to the Constitution and Laws, that that Constitution and Laws should be vindicated, that an attempt to support them should at least be made. He owes it to the dignity of the state and nation, to himself, and the high position he occupies, that he should make a stand against the lawless band that have outraged the rights of the people—If he fail he will have the high satisfaction of having endeavoured to discharge his duty, and those who deplore the lamentable events that affright the state, the satisfaction of knowing that we cannot avoid the deep afflictions pressed upon us, and have been *forced* to bear them. You ask my opinions with reference to future operations—Let the Governor call out at once all the forces he can obtain, and go into a camp capable of easy defense—If the number answering the call are small, they will form a nucleus around whom others will daily gather, and hour by hour this patriotic band will swell, until a vast force will be in the field. Discipline and instruct to a high state of perfection this force, perfect a plan of operations, and at the proper moment with these Battalions of effective men, strike a blow for the supremacy of the Laws; or await until the U. S. Government moves in the matter, when the state will be *ready* to move with the Government forces, and not keep the Government forces waiting, until the state could muster men and these raw men.

By vigorous action the state alone could crush the rebellion. Three thousand effective men could accomplish this. Let the Governor call upon the people to come forward *armed;* hundreds of men have rifles and shot guns, the latter good at 200 yards, good at least to wound, and wounded men are in battle worse than dead ones. Armed men will come forward. Troops without

bayonets will be needed as Light Infantry; and thus no loss is created thro' the want of bayonets. Send to confidential officers limited funds to be used in recruiting; the season is uppon us when men are getting out of employment, and at all times large numbers of hardy men are out of work, numbers of these are with the state, and the laws, and would at once enter the service. Let the recruiting officer through the funds given him in charge feed and lodge those men on and after the moment of enrollment, and forward district companies to the Camp of instruction; In two weeks we could send a splendid Battalion of men from this section, to be soon followed by a second, all that is wanted is *action, action.*

You ask a plan of attack. I would not attack. You are dealing with merchants, traders and clerks of these. You have the great shop and warehouse of the state to operate against. The almighty dollar must be affected. Shut up trade and you break up the Insurgents. Declare San Francisco in a state of siege. Fortify an Island in the river, and one in the Bay, a small garrison would be sufficient, arm three or four scout steamers taken into the state services, and put a sufficient force upon each. Cannon are about the state in various directions, gather them up. Obtain them from incoming ships, if needs be take them for the service of the state, as the law and precedent allow. Sieze by night two prominent points over the City and occupy them by two columns of 500 men each, all things having previously been arranged. Do all this quietly, noiselessly having previously made a strong demonstration in other quarters, and of an entirely different character; thus you will shut up trade, allow no ingoing or out coming. Your steamers stop inward bound ships, and send them to Saucillita, having first helped them of any useful guns and arms onboard. All communication by the river is cut off by your battery and other armed steamers, which latter are cruising up and down. Your Redouts over the city keep off all land communication and in two weeks you will pinch the traders and without firing a gun the rebellion will cease. Touch trade, stop the almighty dollar and the end is at hand. In the beleagered city, all those faithful to the state would clamer against the events that produced the blockade, and with pressure from within and from without our cause must triumph.

If anything is to be done it should be done promptly, as we are losing valuable men. Let me hear from you if even to say that nothing will be effected. I have been and am personally vilely persecuted, but feel and shall act from an honorable sense of duty, and, with the faith of a soldier, esteeming it a happiness to suffer for the right.

Respectfully,

Thos. N. Cazneau
Brig. Gen. Comdg 2d Brig 3d Div

Gen W. C. Kibbie
Qr Master and Adjt Genl

I have had the state arms here in my brigade distributed in the hands of faithful men to avoid theft.

REPORTS DETERMINING JOHNSON'S COURSE

After the seizure by the Vigilantes of the State's quota of arms and ammunition, the attack upon Hopkins, the arrest of Terry and the surrender of the Law and Order forces in San Francisco, Governor Johnson stayed in Sacramento, and was supplied with most of his information concerning conditions in the city by his adjutant-general, Kibbe.

The San Francisco newspapers, and many historians, especially Bancroft, ascribe the Governor's policy to weakness, to indecision, to cowardice, to childish stubbornness. But the content of the letters written to him by Kibbe and others seems to indicate that his attitude was determined by the information, and misinformation, being sent to him by his agents concerning the temper of the San Francisco people, of which the following are examples:

California State Telegraph Company[47]
Office, Latham's Building, J Street
Sacramento

San Fran June 22, 1856

To Gov Johnson

A bright spot is approaching. Hopkins still lives. Gwin, Peyton, Baldwin, Stow, Crocket and others are doing all that men can to get the facts before the world. I am almost insane with excitement and trouble.

David S. Douglass

Kibbe explains the reason for the surrender of the Law and Order forces and suggests means for carrying on the struggle:[48]

Office of Qr Mr & Adjt. Gen. Cal.
San Francisco, June 23, 1856.

Sir,

You have heard doubtless of the scenes which have transpired here during the past two days. It is true that we have been compelled to surrender, owing alone to the fact that we were in nowise prepared to defend ourselves. Our men even who were armed were without ammunition and without supplies which could not be obtained without the means. Our officers and men behaved valiantly without scarcely an exception, and had they had the least show of preparation would have nobly distinguished themselves in the cause of the State. We are disarmed and at the mercy of our foes. Now the question to be solved is what is to be done next? And in connection with this if we decide to continue to assert the majesty of the laws of the State can we get the means

to supply 2 or 3000 men in the field? If we can do that you are justified in taking this step. The force should be encamped at Benicia or some other desirable point and armed as fast as it is possible to do so. With what arms can be collected and purchased throughout the State, a position could be taken which could be held. As I said before the law and order forces have acted manfully and every man can be relied upon in any emergency. Among those who are entitled to particular credit in the late excitement for their soldierly bearing and cool courage & determination are, Col. J. R. West and his command in the Cal. Exchange, & Lt. J. Martin Reese of the Blues. There are doubtless many others who would have borne themselves equally well had they had an intimation that their services would have been needed in time for them to have obtained admittance within the armories.

Now if the means can be raised [?] for supplies the only proper course to be pursued in my opinion is to repair [?] to some good point, barricade it and continue to prepare for the final restoration of law & order, in this County and State. The people will ultimately sustain you in this course of action even if you are compelled to resort to extraordinary measures to carry out a plan of this kind.

If any person is appointed to the command of this Division select some one who has proved his fidelity to the State in the trying scenes, of the past few weeks. I say this without knowing whether there is an appointment to be made here. There should be thorough and complete military discipline hereafter, throughout. Military stratagem should be brought to bear and used under all circumstances. Civilians make good fighting men but sometimes are [too] over zealous and confident to be prudent. Therefore let military experiences be brought into requisition—As far as Gen. Howard is concerned he has acted coolly, prudently—and manfully throughout, but some persons (Civilians) have I fear been disposed to precipitate things too soon, if necessary.—This was imprudent—It is thought here that the Committee will not hang Judge Terry unless forced to do so by outside pressure.

If the state of things does exist, we shall tender the services of 1000 men to the Committee if desired to save Judge Terry.

Is Gen. Howard in Sacramento? I suppose he is—

Write by return mail—

Excuse this hastily written note as I had but a few minutes to write.

Your Obt Servt

Wm. C. Kibbe

Qr Mr & Adjt Gen.

His Excellency
J. Neely Johnson
Governor of Cal.

MORE LETTERS FROM KIBBE TO JOHNSON[49]

Kibbe, in a series of letters to Governor Johnson, discusses the course of Judge Terry's trial and the state of affairs in San Francisco and urges the Governor to stand fast:

Off. Qr. Mr. & Adjt. Genl. Cal.
San Francisco June 24, 1856.

Sir:

I wrote you a very hasty letter yesterday, in fact I had but a very few minutes to write, so you will please excuse that letter. The Executive Committee are now placed in a position of embarrassment the importance of which they never dreamed.

The affidavits go to prove that Judge Terry acted purely in self defence and the masses outside are clamorous for blood. The question is, if Terry is acquitted of murder, can the Vigilance forces be controlled if Hopkins dies? If he is acquitted the Ex Committee fear danger, if he is hung danger to them is certain. This committee would give their fortunes to be extricated from their present difficulties—In regard to the course to be pursued hereafter I see but one. It will not answer to recede although we are disarmed at this point. A reaction in public feeling will *certainly take place within the next 30 days* in favor of law & order unless we commit some gross blunders, and if you hold to your proclamation and can raise the necessary means there will be no fear of the final result. What has aided to embarrass us to some degree is the fact that some of our men have been very injudicious in their conversation, relative to what they intended to do inducing the V. C. to expect no quarter for themselves or their property if a collision should ever take place—and this too from some of our men whom it was certainly known were quite prominent members of the law and order party.

These men did not regard the fact that we were organizing only a very small force immediately in the enemies camp, who had the power to disarm us at any time. If our numbers had been equal this might have been good policy but we were only 1 to 8 or 10, and without arms for even this small number.

Every thing hereafter should be conducted with military skill and caution. We could raise 3000 men here in 5 days if we had supplies and were disposed to prosecute the matter vigorously. I hope to hear from you in reply. Don't accept Col. Wests resignation. I regret that it was forwarded through mistake. It seems to be the opinion now that Hopkins may recover. We all hope so as it will favor the present chance of Judge Terry with the Committee.

It is rumored that if Hopkins lives Terry will be released on condition that he and Murray both resign their offices. This however is a rumor.

I enclose herewith copies of a demand upon and reply of the Vigilance Committee for the arms and accoutrements taken from Phillips.

A Grand Jury commences sessions to-day, which will doubtless find a large number of bills of indictment against parties here.

I have the honor to be

Your mo obt servt

[Wm. C. Kibbe]

To His Excellency
J. Neely Johnson
Governor of Cal.

Qr Mr & Adjt. General Cal.

Qr. Mr. & Adjt. Genl. Cal.
San Francisco, June 25, 1856.

Sir:

I have nothing of particular importance to communicate this evening. The man Hopkins is reported to be still in a very critical condition—the universal wish seems to be that he might recover.

The trial of Judge Terry is said to be progressing and many have strong hopes that he may be acquitted—His friends are very active in his behalf. It is impossible to foretell the result. You will perceive a change in the tone of the press; and we hope the case may be decided without prejudice in which event it seems certain that the Judge will be acquitted of murder and perhaps of all crime, tho' the result is feared if Hopkins dies.

We tread upon a powder mine as it were, not knowing when some indiscreet act may induce the torch to be applied.

I am Sir
Most respectfully
Your obt ser[van]t
Wm. C. Kibbe

His Excellency
J. Neely Johnson
Govr. of California

Qr. Mr. & Adjt. Genl. Cal.

COLONEL WEST EXPRESSES HIS FEARS[50]

Colonel J. R. West, who had surrendered the armory to the Vigilance Committee on June 21, seemed to fear that the Committee would be unable to control its members in the event of Hopkins' death:

San Francisco, June 30th, 1856.

Dear Sir,

The condition of Hopkins continues extremely critical and it is impossible to tell how his case will terminate—not the slightest encouragement is yet given that he will recover.

I can give you no information as to the probable course of the Committee with regard to Judge Terry. A member of the Executive informs me that they

are engaged [in] examining testimony in the case. I understand that the usual course of procedure is for the testimony to be taken by the Committee on Evidence, to be then laid before a jury consisting of three Delegates from each company—a two third vote from which body is necessary for a verdict. You can readily judge that any opinion as to how that vote will be cast must be based entirely upon conjecture. I believe that a fair proportion of the Committee will uphold the decision of their regularly constituted authorities, yet there is an apprehension that any other than extreme punishment is likely to create trouble, especially among the foreigners, members of the Committee. Intimations have been made to me that perhaps the aid of the Govt forces might be desirable to sustain the action of the Delegates should they decide that Judge Terry should not be hung. Should such demand be made upon me by the Executive committee, of course they would provide the necessary arms and we could be of material assistance.—In the absence of any instructions from you I should not hesitate to do everything in my power to protect his life, and while I believe that such would be your orders, I would be pleased to have your official directions in the premises.

It would be well for these instructions to be sent without delay as it is uncertain how soon Hopkins might die, and our action would have most weight if authorized by you.

Yours respectfully

To J. Neely Johnson
Governor of California

Col. J. R. West

Kibbe was most anxious that the Governor should not withdraw his proclamation declaring San Francisco to be in a state of insurrection. He believed that the maintenance of the Committee's organization would prove to be so expensive that its members would sooner or later disband.

MORE ADVICE TO THE GOVERNOR[51]

Off. Qr. Mr. & Adjt Genl Cal
Sacramento July 2, 1856

Sir:

There is very little of interest to communicate today—Hopkins is believed to be better, and there are some dissensions in the Committee—They are to day in a worse and more embarrassing condition than we are. I have conversed with several gentlemen of standing today and they agree with me in the opinion that under no circumstances will Judge Terry be harmed, and that the only course for you to pursue is to remain firm to your proclamation until such time as the Sheriff of this County reports to you that he can serve and execute all writs placed in his hands without the assistance of a military force.

This is the basis of the Proclamation and until the difficulty is removed the Proclamation cannot be withdrawn with any grace. The Committee are in

great trouble and will come to terms in due time. It is impossible for them to revolutionize the State, indeed it is doubtful whether they would be sustained in this move even in San Francisco, and the evil will eventually correct itself—You have done everything in your power—You have issued your proclamation and the people have not responded. You have attempted to secure the execution of the laws in this country and have not been able thus far to do it—You therefore have done your duty and in less than six months the people of this State will award their approbation—You cannot recede in any event, it will accomplish nothing for Terry if you do, and at the same time will place you under more embarrassment. If you were to call an extra session of the Legislature at this time nothing would be accomplished perhaps—So the only prudent course is to remain as you are and you have only to say that your proclamation was issued and the people did not respond leaving you powerless to sustain a principle of duty under your oath. Remain firm then and risk the results. Terry will not be harmed I think—

I expect further orders in regard to disbanding the troops here and hope to be able to raise the necessary means to pay them off. Money is promised here on the 6th instant. We can probably get what we shall need.

Your Obt Servt
Wm. C. Kibbe
Qr Mr & Adjt Genl

His Excellency
J. Neely Johnson
Governor, Cal.

Off. Qr Mr & Adj Genl Cal
San Francisco, July 5, 1856

Sir:

Hopkins is pronounced out of danger and the Committee have found that they have "Caught the Elephant." The only course for us to pursue is to quietly follow them up. Admit of no Compromise, but as we gain ground which we are evidently doing throughout the State, bring them gradually to terms—The Com. I understand, say that Terry shall never sit again upon the bench, this is perfectly idle unless they unconditionally release him in which case he *might* resign—If they send him away by the time he may return we shall be able to protect him against all their opposition.

Your Obt Servt
Wm. C. Kibbe
Qr Mr & Adj Genl Cal.

His Excellency
J. Neely Johnson
Marysville, Cal.

GOVERNOR JOHNSON'S ATTEMPTED COMPROMISE[52]

While the Terry trial was still in progress, Johnson called upon his father-in-law, James C. Zabriskie, requesting him to go to San Francisco and if possible adjust the difficulties between the Vigilance Committee and the authorities. He told him to make the following proposal: that if the committee

would deliver Terry to the courts for trial, place in the Governor's possession the State arms, and disband, he, Johnson would advise the authorities of San Francisco not to prosecute any member of the Vigilance Committee for offenses alleged to have been committed, and should any be thus tried and convicted, he would grant them unconditional pardon. The utmost secrecy was to be maintained, as in case of refusal on the part of the Committee to comply with the Governor's proposal the Governor would not have it appear that any advance toward a reconciliation had been made by him.

Colonel Zabriskie accepted the commission and associated with himself James Allen and C. B. Zabriskie of San Francisco. They called on Mrs. Terry, who informed them that she believed her husband would resign his office if released. Assuming that she had been authorized to speak for her husband, Terry was visited and the proposition made to him. He refused to resign unless first released and then tried and convicted by a regular court. To this the Vigilance Committee refused to consent, and Terry thereupon refused to deal any further with the Governor's committee.

Colonel Zabriskie was very anxious to have the whole matter kept quiet. Judge Terry on the other hand would rather it were known that he had been asked to resign and would not. At Judge Terry's request, a written report of the affair appeared in the *Sun* of the 8th of July. The Governor, seeing that his commissioners had failed, and that his overtures were made public, determined, so far as he was concerned, to cut loose from the complications by ignoring the whole matter. He came out in the public journals flatly denying ever having authorized Allen and the Zabriskies to follow the course they had pursued. They naturally then proceeded to denounce Johnson's conduct and swore to the truth of their statements.

The newspapers made much of the affair. The following are a few of the letters to the Governor concerning it.

REPERCUSSIONS FROM JOHNSON'S DIPLOMACY[53]

Off. Qr. Mr. & Adjt. Genl. Cal.
San Francisco July 4, 1856.

Sir:

I am informed that a Committee with full powers from you is now in town to treat with the Vigilance Committee—This V Committee will not treat unless upon terms which they themselves may dictate, one of the principal of which is that Judge Terry shall resign his office. This question has been long settled. Judge Terry would infinitely prefer swinging from the window of the Committee Rooms, than resigning his office. Consequently this Committee will do our cause great harm unless recalled, no terms will be accepted without this ultimatum you may be assured, no concessions therefore should be made until the Committee disband. We are daily gaining ground, upon

them and if matters remain as they now are, we shall ere long be enabled to assert our rights to a certainty. I hope the Committee may be recalled. Hopkins will surely get well and the country is rapidly changing in our favor.

Your Obt. Servt.

Wm. C. Kibbe
Qr. Mr & Adjt Genl. Cal.

His Excellency
Gov. Johnson

California State Telegraph Co.
Office—United States Building, D Street

San Francisco, July 4th, 1856
7:30 P. M.

To J. N. Johnson

Telegraph immediately to those whom you have sent down to suspend all negociation with the committee, till we can communicate with you. This is of the very greatest importance. Answer quick.

Wm. C. Kibbe
J. Nugent
E. A. Rowe.

Off. Qr. Mr. & Adjt Genl Cal
San Francisco, July 8, 1856

Sir:

There seems to be much speculation in this community as to whether Col. Zabriskie, Gen. Allen & others were authorized by your Excellency to open and conclude negotiations with the Vigilance Committee. Many assert that they had, others are positive that they had not. News from the mountain Counties is quite cheering. I have seen several reliable gentlemen from the mines all of whom agree in the Sentiment that the mines are fast changing in favor of the law & order party.—I saw a letter also from Judge Winston from Plumas in which he says that his County is getting and will ultimately be sound in this respect. The news of the Nominations which will be received by next Steamer will have a tendency to develop to a certain extent the future of the Vigilance Committee—For their own purposes I think they will merge their Strength and influence with the B Republican party in which case they will soon dwindle down to their real strength which will not be at all formidable.

Once divest them of political demagogues and those who have been brought in here by their influence, and permit the two parties to get up their organization and you have them with a force greatly reduced.

It is believed they intend to do a great deal within the next ten days. If so the probabilities are that they will be greatly weakened, for the people have already seen enough and wish them now to disband. I understand they are making renewed preparations and intend to carry matters much further.

We are constantly gaining ground in public Sentiment here and if we adhere to the original intention we shall come out right in the End. Was that Committee authorized to accept of definite propositions by you, in view of an immediate settlement of affairs, if not please answer as there is a great anxiety to know?

I have the honor to be
Your Obt Servt
Wm. C. Kibbe
Qr Mr & Adjt Genl Cal

His Excellency
J. Neely Johnson
Governor Calif.

Sac City, July 10th, 1856

Governor Johnson
Sir

As we did not authorize the publication to be made you refer to, we are not called upon to take notice of it. You however *virtually* deny that we possessed the authority therein stated. It is therefore due to ourselves to state *explicitly* and *emphatically* that we possessed "full powers to settle the difficulty existing between the State Govt and the Vigilance Committee," subject to the limitation prescribed by Your instruction. We have not in any manner transcended that authority, as You would have learned long ere this if You had remained where we could have seen and explained to You, or if You had returned when so requested by Telegraph. We observe by the comments in the "Express" published in Marysville that You have authorized the Editor to deny our authority in terms so vague, as to subject us to the imputation of a violation of trust, or the assumption of authority wholly unauthorized. This You did without conferring with or affording us an opportunity to confer with You. How far such acts comport with the mutual obligations and responsabilities, which existed between us, we leave You to judge.

In the "Globe" of the 9th we have submitted to the people of California the result of our embassy, which we were compelled to do in self vindication, but which would not have been necessary if You had remained at home.

Respt
Your obt Sts
James C. Zabriskie
James Allen

The Governor was continuously misled by his San Francisco agents as to the real state of affairs and the real state of public opinion in the city.

KIBBE CONTINUES TO MISINFORM AND ADVISE[54]

Off. Qr. Mr & Adjt Genl. Cal.
San Francisco July 9, 1856

Sir:

We are receiving daily the most cheering news, from all parts of the country relative to the channel which public sentiment seems to be taking upon the subject of the acts of the Vigilance Committee.

Depend upon it, there is a substantial and will ere long be an overwhelming reaction in the sentiment of the people of this State upon this question—An address has been prepared and signed by upwards of 500. persons in Tuolumne County, many of whom are prominent men, in that County: to the people relative to the acts of the Sacramento Street "Junto" and one which will tell: Similar movements are on foot all over the State, and there is little doubt that all will eventually be right—I have just learned that Ned McGowan is in Santa Barbara and that about twenty Vigilance Committee Men are on his wake and will probably arrest him in a short time—They are making arrests continually and I understand they intend to do a wholesale business this week—

Several business houses have failed or suspended within the last few days and many more are expected soon, They do not know what action to take on Judge Terry's case; it is the prevailing opinion that they will send him off, as they have others, but I do not believe it, I think it possible that they will keep him awhile and then liberate him—I have not been able to raise any money as yet, have a promise of it after the arrival of the next steamer

I am Sir:
Your Obt. Servt.
Wm. C. Kibbe
Qr. Mr & Adjt Genl. Cal.

His Excellency
J. Neely Johnson
Governor Cal.

Off. Qr. Mr. & Adjt. Genl. Cal.
San Francisco July 15, 1856

Sir:

I arrived here last evening and found that there had been considerable excitement at a mass meeting held by the Vigilance Committee and their allies, for the purpose of inducing the city and county officers to resign.

The meeting was very unsatisfactory to the parties who induced it, and it is believed here that those present were made up of about an equal number of law and order and Vigilance men, and that had it not have been for the fact

that the V. Committee sent up a posse to arrest several gentlemen who were brave enough to express an opinion when called upon to do so the meeting would have turned out a complete failure. Thus you see there is a great reaction going on here in San Francisco. Thirty days more will accomplish wonders in this respect and I believe with discreet management will turn the tables upon them completely.

When the change becomes fully apparent, then will be the time to set yourself right in regard to any direct authority which is alleged to have been given by you to any persons whatsoever for the settlement of this question.

Please inform me if you receive any intelligence in regard to the appropriation of arms to Cal by Congress.

It will probably be necessary to draw for the uses of the State in paying off Troops here, the amount of Military Fund now on hand.

I herewith enclose an order for that purpose which you will please sign and forward to me. Hopkins is reported in a critical condition and may not recover.

I have the honor to be
Your Obt. Servt.
WM. C. KIBBE
Qr. Mr. & Adjt. Genl.

His Excellency
J. Neely Johnson
Governor Cal

Off. Qr. Mr. & Adjt. Genl. Cal
San Francisco July 17, 1856

Sir:

There is nothing new or important here to-day. I understand that the Committee are continually making arrests—The Board of Supervisors have declared the offices of Sherriff, Assessor & Coroner vacant. Hopkins is improving and I am told is getting well—is in no danger—

The case of Judge Terry will probably be concluded to-day or tomorrow—the witnesses for the defence are being examined—An apparent reaction is still going on here which will eventually do much to correct matters, and I think there is little in the way to prevent a speedy termination of our present difficulties—

We must continue to be firm and as they weaken we shall gain strength and ere long hold a position which will be supported by every unprejudiced Citizen in the State. Political demonstrations are commencing—

I am Sir:
Your Obt Servt
WM C KIBBE
Qr. Mr. & Adjt. General Cal

His Excellency
J. Neely Johnson
Governor State of Cal.

Off. Qr Mr & Adjt. Genl. Cal.
San Francisco, July 18. 1856

Sir:

Your friends here whom I have seen, seem well satisfied with your statement in regard to the powers claimed to have been Conferred upon the Zabriskie Committee.

The statement is acknowledged to be a plain, unvarnished one and I doubt not will place you before the people in your true position, the assertions of the said Committee to the contrary not withstanding. There is nothing new of importance here, Arrests are yet being made by the Committee daily. Have you received any intelligence by the last mail from Washington, relative to the action of Congress? I presume there will be another arrival via Nicaragua in the course of a day or two, We may possibly get some news by this Steamer, as I am informed Selover and other Californians are expected direct from Washington—Hopkins is improving and Judge Terry's trial is nearly or quite Concluded—

I am Sir:
Your Obt Sert.
Wm C Kibbe
Qr. Mr. & Adjt. General Cal.

His Excellency
J. Neely Johnson
Governor of Cal.

Off: Qr. Mr. & Adjt Genl. Cal
San Francisco July 22nd, 1856.

Sir:

It is believed that Judge Terry's trial has been completed by the Executive Committee tho' the result is as yet entirely unknown. Some are under the apprehension that they intend to send him out of the Country, and that they will then arrest the City & County officials of this County and afterwards those of the State—

This is a high handed measure but yet there are those who believe it will be carried out, within the next 30 days—

I have not succeeded in raising any money as yet. Palmer thinks he can supply it and would be glad to do so on the arrival of the next mail Steamer

If we could get 2 or $3000, we could get along very well for a few weeks.

Could you not raise that amount at Sacramento. Have you heard any thing relative to a law which has passed Congress appropriating Arms to all the States admitted since 1808? A law of this kind is reported to have passed this Congress which I hope will prove Correct, A number of Prisoners were shipped on the Steamer of yesterday.

I am Sir:
Your Obt Servt
Wm. C. Kibbe
Qr. Mr. &. Adjt. Genl. Cal

His Excellency
J. Neely Johnson
Governor: Cal.

Off. Qr. Mr. & Adjt Genl. Cala
San Francisco, July 24, 1856

Sir:

There has been considerable excitement here during the last 24 hours growing out of reported movement of the U. S. Forces both Navy and Army. It was rumored that the two ships of war lying at the Navy Yard were being put in condition for immediate action and that arms and munitions of war were on the way to this City. Upon what particular foundations these rumors were based I have not been able to learn although there is no doubt but what Captain Farrigut while here two days since did suggest to the Superintendent of the mint the necessity of placing all the Treasure on board one of the Ships of War for safe keeping.

Gen. Wool is reported at the point of death at Napa Springs and it is not at all probable that he has changed his mind in regard to his duty in the premises or that he had received or issued any orders—So that these rumors which have created so much alarm among the Committee are probably founded upon Capt. Farrigut's suggestions in regard to the safety of the Bullion. Since the commencement of this letter another Excitement is apparent from the following cause. The "Yankee" from the Sandwich Islands upon which some men were shipped out of the Country by the Committee, has just arrived bringing one of the Expatriated by the name of Bulger, whose sentence was never to return to California upon penalty of Death. No sooner than the vessel touched the wharf he was arrested and escorted to the Committee Rooms. Many are Canvassing [?] whether he will in fact be hung by the Committee or not. It is said that there are no Serious Charges against him, nevertheless he has disobeyed the order of the Committee and incurred their displeasure.

I am sir,

His Excellency
J. Neely Johnson
Governor Cala

Your Obt Servt
Wm. C. Kibbe
Qr Mr & Adjt Genl Cala

While the Terry trial was going on, a gambler named Joseph Hetherington murdered a physician named Andrew Randall. He was seized by the Vigilance Committee, tried for murder and found guilty. At the same time the Committee concluded the trial of another bad character named Philander Brace, and he too was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged.

TERRY'S TRIAL AND DR. RANDALL'S MURDER[55]

Off. Qr Mr & Adj Genl Cala
San Francisco, July 26, 1856

Sir:

It is rumored that Judge Terry's trial will be concluded today and that he will receive his sentence—what that will be no one can tell—although I still adhere to the opinion that he will not be harmed or banished; this opinion is

derided by the whole Community here; nevertheless, I cannot but believe that it will prove Correct.

Dr. Randall is dead and some pretend to say that his murderer will be handed over to the authorities for trial; this of course is preposterous, although it comes from an officer of the Committee. *I* think they will hang him within three days from this time.

The committee have been in a state of alarm for the last two days induced by the movements of the navy, which I presume are simply carrying into effect orders received per Sierra Nevada from Washington issued in view of a fear of trouble with England. The Committee have had excitement enough already and bear it illy—they would be most happy to get out of their dilemma if possible. There is considerable excitement upon the streets to-day. Many are expecting something to be done by the Committee and it would not surprise [me] to hear at any moment that Hetherington was hung.

Mrs. Terry is now admitted into the Rooms. I intend to see her this afternoon.

I am Sir, Your Obt Servt
Wm. C. Kibbe
Qr Mr & Adj Genl Cala

His Excellency
J. Neely Johnson, Governor State of California

The following, touching somewhat on the Hetherington, Brace and Terry affairs, shows also the extent to which Kibbe was deceiving the Governor as to the trend of affairs in San Francisco.

KIBBE'S LETTER OF JULY 28, 1856[56]

Off. Qr Mr and Adjt Genl Cal.
San Francisco, July 28, 1856

Sir:

There has been no further demonstration on the part of the V. Committee (i. e. which are known outside) since the assassination of Dr .Randall.

It is rumored that the executive committee have decided to acquit and liberate Judge Terry, but that the Board of Delegates has refused to confirm this decree; it is not certain however that such is the case in either particular—There will doubtless be final action upon the subject within a day or two. If Judge Terry was out of the way, i.e. out of the rooms, it would be no difficult task to take the Fort and such as might be on guard there, 500 men would be a force sufficient to do this, with very little bloodshed. Why at the time of Hetherington's arrest, when the crowd came down Sacramento street near "Gunny Bags" their Guard dropt their muskets and fled, for which they have since been expelled from the Committee to the number of forty. They will doubtless take action in Terry's case, and I think will disband in a very short

time.—Hetherington and Brace will probably be hung tomorrow and a few may be notified to leave by next Steamer.

. . . . . .

Yr. Obt Servt.

Wm. C. Kibbe
Qr Mr & Adj Genl

His Excellency
J. Neely Johnson
Governor State of California

On July 29, Hetherington and Brace were hanged in the presence of a tremendous crowd. Contemporary accounts indicate that the community heartily approved of the Committee's action, but Kibbe's letters to the Governor voice a different opinion:

THE HANGING OF BRACE AND HETHERINGTON[57]

Off. Qr Mr. & Adjt Genl Cal.
San Francisco, July 30, 1856.

Sir:

This Community seems more indignant to-day in regard to the Vigilance Committee than ever before. The scenes of yesterday of which you have seen an account have seemed to infuse this feeling generally. There are many rumors as to the final action of the Committee in Judge Terry's case but nothing definite can be gleaned from them. It was said yesterday that the Com. had given him until 4 O'clock to resign his office without stating the alternative. The other men were to be hung at five o'clock and no doubt if this rumor is correct that they half intimated this to him in order to frighten him to resign—In this of course they were dealing with the wrong man.

Have you any advice about arms from Washington? I see the Senate has passed a bill for California and Charlie Salt who is direct from Washington says the request and requisition will be promptly and favorably acted upon by the President—We have some hope yet.

Some of our men intend leaving for Nicaragua by next steamer. Say that I am authorized to muster such out of Service in your reply to this.

I am Sir
Your Obt Servt
Wm. C. Kibbe
Qr Mr & Adjt Genl Cal.

To his Excellency
J. Neely Johnson
Governor of Cala

P. S. Have you received my letter enclosing orders of the 28th inst?

Off. Qr Mr and Adjt Genl Cal.
San Francisco, Aug. 1, 1856

Sir:

The Executive Committee seems greatly annoyed by the action of the Coroner's Jury today. Many of them have been summoned as witnesses to give their testimony in regard to the violent deaths of Hetherington and Brace. The hangman is much frightened and scarcely dare go upon the Street for fear of being arrested by the legal authorities—although I am informed that he has the assurance that if arrested and put into Jail the Committee will take him out forthwith—It has been rumored that the Commitee had finally decided Judge Terry's Case but it is not true, further action I understand has been postponed for a short time, all of which I look upon as favorable for the Judge. . . .

Judge Creamer is in town and reports his Judicial District as ready to respond and reestablish law and order throughout the State. I have also the same information from Sonoma & Tehama Counties. In a very short time there will be very little trouble in accomplishing this most desirable & paramount of all objects with small loss of treasure & blood, especially if the Federal Government favor it.

I have the honor to be
Your Obt Servt
Wm. C. Kibbe
Qr Mr & Adj Genl Cala

His Excellency
J. Neely Johnson
Governor State of California

After many meetings of its Executive Committee, the Vigilance Committee finally decided, on August 7, to discharge Terry. Terry was quietly escorted to the warship *John Adams*, which had been waiting for him. On that same day, when the river steamer, *Helen Hensley*, steamed past on her way from San Francisco to Sacramento, he was transferred to it and taken to the State capital, where he remained in quiet and seclusion.

The newspapers violently denounced the Vigilance Committee for its leniency toward Terry, but by degrees the dissatisfaction died out and responsible people came to realize that in freeing Terry the Committee had acted wisely.

[*To be continued*]

NOTES

46. Vigilance Committee letters, State Library, Sacramento.
47. Original in Johnson papers.
48. *Ibid.*
49. Vigilance Committee letters, State Library, Sacramento.
50. Original in Johnson papers.

51. Kibbe's letter of July 2, 1856, is from the Vigilance Committee letters, State Library, Sacramento; that of July 5, from the original in the Johnson papers.

52. Adapted from Bancroft's *Popular Tribunals*, Vol. II, pp. 452-55.

53. The letter of July 4, from Kibbe, is from the Vigilance Committee letters, State Library, Sacramento; the July 4 telegram and the letters of July 8 and 10, from originals in the Johnson papers.

54. Kibbe's letters of July 9, 15, 17, 18 and 22 are from the Vigilance Committee letters, State Library, Sacramento; that of July 24 is from the original in the Johnson papers.

55. Original in Johnson papers.

56. *Ibid.*

57. *Ibid.*

58. The letters of August 7 and 8 are from the Vigilance Committee letters, State Library, Sacramento; that of August 13, from the original in the Johnson papers.

59. Johnson papers.

NEW MEMBERS

Name	*Address*	*Proposed by*
*Bekeart, Philip K.	San Francisco	Mr. Anson S. Blake
Brown, Mrs. Stella Ingrim	San Francisco	Miss Dorothy Huggins
Burke, John J.	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Clarke, Dwight L.	Los Angeles	Mr. Douglas S. Watson
Coonan, Clarence	San Francisco	Mr. John Howell
Habberley, W. C.	Berkeley	Mrs. Rudolph Altrocchi
*Hart, James D.	San Francisco	Mr. E. A. Wiltsee
Martin, Robert Carson, M.D.	San Francisco	Mr. E. A. Wiltsee
Underhill, R. L.	Berkeley	Miss Dorothy Huggins

*Continuing the membership of his late father.

MERCHANTS' EXCHANGE

Northeast corner of Battery and Washington streets, 1854.
From a photograph in the Templeton Crocker Collection.

CONTINUATION OF THE ANNALS OF SAN FRANCISCO*

JUNE 1854 (*continued*)

JUNE 4. A serious squatter riot occurred on the lot owned by Captain Joseph L. Folsom, corner of Mission and Third streets. The squatters were driven off, and their chiefs, McMahon and Larkin, severely wounded. Of the Folsom party, Mr. George Dillon Smith was so seriously injured that he died the succeeding day. The Chinese Mission Chapel on the corner of Stockton and Sacramento streets was dedicated, the Rev. William Speer preaching an eloquent dedication sermon.

June 6. In the U. S. District Court, the trial of William Walker for violation of the neutrality laws was postponed until the 2nd of August. Miss Kate Denin took a benefit at the American, and Mr. Edwin Booth at the Metropolitan Theater.

June 7. A large number of the citizens registered their names at the Merchants Exchange as members of an anti-squatter association, which had its inception at a meeting of citizens in the office of Theodore Payne & Company on June 5. The schooner *Restless*, from Honolulu, brought news of the complete success of Commodore Perry's negotiations with Japan. By a treaty of amity, the ports of Samodi, Niphon and Chickada were to be opened to the trade of the United States. Squatters were ejected from the premises on the corner of First and Howard streets. The Board of Firemen had a meeting in which Howard Company, No. 3, preferred a formal impeachment against the Chief Engineer. The Board concluded to take testimony on the subject. An affair of honor came off between two French gentlemen, Messrs. Essler and Dube. The weapons were small swords, and the latter was mortally wounded. The commissioners of the Funded Debt made their report for the year ending May 21, 1854, by which it appeared that the Debt had been diminished from $1,635,600 to $1,509,500. Mrs. C. N. Sinclair had a benefit at the Metropolitan in which all the talent of the city was combined. The occasion was further distinguished by the first appearance of her sister Mrs. Margaret Sinclair Voorhies, a contralto of much power and sweetness. Two policemen, named Flynn and Marble, had a difficulty in which the latter was wounded in the hand. The former was arrested, and the names of both were struck from the roll by the Marshal.

June 8. At a special meeting of the Board of Delegates, held for the purpose of trying Howard Company, No. 3, for disobedience of orders, it was resolved that the charges against it were not sustained for want of knowledge of the legal existence of the company. A squatter difficulty occurred on a lot on the south side of Green Street, between Powell and Stockton. A man named Murphy had taken possession two years ago and let a portion to a man named Duffie, who, when the lease expired, refused to vacate. In the conflict which ensued John Mooney was slightly wounded. Mrs. Murphy received a shot in the breast, from which she will probably never recover. John Murphy, James Duffie, and William Wright were arrested. In the Board of Assistant Aldermen, an ordinance to pave Kearny Street, between Clay and Washington, was taken up and passed, two-thirds the expense of half the street in front of the property to be paid by the property holders. The Stockton *Daily Argus* made its first appearance.

June 9. The Association for the Protection of Property had a meeting at Musical Hall, when the following officers were elected: President, Colonel David S. Turner;

*This portion of the "Continuation of the Annals of San Francisco" is adapted from the "Monthly Summary of Events" in the *Pioneer*, Vols. II and III.

Vice-Presidents, Benjamin Haywood, G. B. Post, Henry M. Naglee; Secretary, Charles R. Bond; Treasurer, Dr. Samuel Merritt; Executive Committee, G. B. Post, John Sime, E. J. Hastler, Wilson Flint, F. A. Woodworth, J. P. Manrow, James George, Edward Vischer, Louis Cohen, John C. Maynard, Charles L. Case, James F. Curtis, Henry M. Naglee, John Perry, Jr. The San Francisco Baptist Association held their annual meeting at Stockton. Thirty-four delegates were present. Rev. J. B. Saxton was elected Moderator, Hon. E. J. Willis, of Sacramento, Clerk, and F. Adams, of San Francisco, Treasurer. The three new churches of Marysville, Nevada, and Volcano were received into the association.

June 12. A new musical troupe, called the "Mountaineers," and consisting of Mr. and Miss Leach, Miss Mary Tozer, J. Connor Smith, and L. T. Zander, gave their first concert at Musical Hall. Dr. J. W. Van Sandt was elected Alderman of the Third Ward to fill the place of Alderman R. M. Jessup, resigned. The six military companies of the city met at Armory Hall for the purpose of electing a colonel, staff, etc. The California Guard, Marion Rifles, and City Guard retired, with the intention of forming an infantry battalion. The National Lancers, Light Dragoons, and Artillery Company elected Captain J. R. West, major. The new public school on the corner of Bush and Stockton streets was dedicated with imposing ceremonies. In the Board of Aldermen, the ordinance for the increase of the police was lost.

June 13. Colonel William Walker dissolved his connection with the *Democratic State Journal.*

June 14. The steamship *Golden Gate* arrived, fourteen days from Panama.

June 16. The steamer *Cortes* left for San Juan with treasure amounting to $1,107,-453; and the P.M.S.S. *Sonora* left for Panama with $1,138,569.98, a total of $2,246,022.98. The Rev. W. A. Scott delivered the first lecture of the Mercantile Library Association Course at Musical Hall, on the subject of "The Growth and Influence of Great Cities." Mr. Lewis Blanding received his commission as Associate Law Agent before the Board of U. S. Land Commissioners, and took the oath of office before Judge Ogden Hoffman, Jr. Captain Alexander Matthews of the ship *Lord Dufferin,* was stabbed by the carpenter, John McGowan.

June 17. The *Brother Jonathan* arrived, fifteen days from San Juan, bringing 534 passengers.

June 21. The prize of $1000, offered by Mr. H. L. Bateman for the best drama, was awarded to a person styling herself "U. F. M. W. W.," who immediately presented the money to the Orphan Asylum. A new engine for the Monumentals arrived from New York. Felicien David's grand Oratorio of the Desert was performed at Musical Hall by the Sängerbund, the Philharmonic Society, and an orchestra of thirty performers.

June 22. The modified grades were adopted by a joint convention of the Common Council. It transpired that the fortunate competitor for the prize drama was Mrs. Bateman herself, a discovery which caused great dissatisfaction and considerable excitement.

June 23. The handsome dry goods store of A. Austin & Co., on Montgomery Street, was thrown open for the inspection of the public. Orders were received from the Secretary of War, transferring the Headquarters of the Department of the Pacific from San Francisco to Benicia.

June 24. Mr. George Loder had a benefit at the Metropolitan, and Mr. C. R. Thorne at the American Theater. The P.M.S.S. *Fremont* arrived from San Diego, bringing news of the arrival at that place on the 12th ult. of Colonel Gray's Pacific Railroad Surveying party. Company L, Third U. S. Artillery, Captain Kelley, marched from the Presidio on their way for Benicia.

June 25. On the occasion of the closing performance at the American Theater under the management of Mr. C. R. Thorne, that gentleman was presented with a beautiful gold watch and chain. *Lucrezia Borgia* was performed a second time at the Metropolitan, Madame Anna Bishop in the part of Lucrezia, Miss Julia Gould in that of Orsini, Beutler as Genaro. A number of persons were baptised at the Market Street Wharf by the Rev. William Taylor. Hughes, the pedestrian, accomplished the extraordinary feat of walking eighty consecutive hours without stopping. The original wager was $1000, but it is believed that $500 more was taken at the door for admission to see him, besides numerous outside bets.

June 26. A party of squatters located themselves in the Public Square bounded by Post, Geary, Powell and Stockton streets.

June 27. William B. Sheppard, convicted of the murder of Henry C. Day, was sentenced by the District Court to be hanged on the 28th of July. Foley, convicted of manslaughter of Dunn, the editor of the *Pacific Police Gazette*, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in the State Prison. During the last three days, 1,622 Chinese immigrants arrived in the city.

June 28. The prize drama, entitled *The Mother's Trust*, was presented at the Metropolitan Theater to an immense audience. The children of the Pilgrim Sunday School had a picnic at the Lone Mountain Cemetery. Two men named Frost and Paine had a difficulty at Angel Island in which the former shot the latter in the head, causing his death instantly.

June 29. The ordinance declaring the modified grades the official grades of the city, with a few exceptions, was passed by the Board of Assistant Aldermen. The Union Theater was opened under the management of Miss Laura Keene. Mr. J. Gorham Bond, of Massachusetts, was drowned while on a sailing excursion in the bay. A broker named McCann, who had an office on Pacific Street, was arrested for swindling in the purchase of gold dust. Police stations were established on the corner of Green and Stockton streets and at the engine house opposite the Oriental hotel.

June 30. An assault was committed by Mr. H. L. Bateman upon Mr. Frank Soulé, editor of the *Daily California Chronicle*. The former was invited to the attack by an article which appeared in the *Chronicle* of that morning commenting upon the prize drama transaction. Meeting Mr. Soulé at the corner of Clay and Montgomery streets, he struck him with his fist, and afterwards drawing his pistol, fired several shots at him, none of which took effect. A large crowd gathered at the spot, and the excitement was intense. The parties were separated and Mr. Bateman taken before the Recorder, where he gave bail for his appearance next day. Mr. Soulé and others addressed the crowd, and it finally dispersed.

July 1. The I. S. S. *Yankee Blade* arrived, fourteen days from Panama; the Nicaragua S. S. *Sierra Nevada*, twelve days from San Juan; and the *John L. Stephens*, thirteen and a half days from Panama, bringing news from Europe to May 26, and from the States to June 7. Maurice Strakosch, the celebrated pianist, arrived by the *John L. Stephens*. The steamships *Golden Gate*, *Pacific*, and *Uncle Sam* left, carrying away gold dust to the amount of $2,067,876.57.

July 2. The press announced the appointment of Hon. T. J. Henley as Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California, in place of Lieutenant Edward F. Beale, removed; of Charles Weller as Postmaster for San Francisco; and of Hon. Pedro Carillo as Surveyor of the Port of Santa Barbara.

July 3. The case of Mr. W. L. Bateman, charged with having committed an assault with deadly weapons upon Mr. Frank Soulé, came up in the Recorder's Court for preliminary examination.

July 4. The day was properly celebrated.

July 5. The examination of Mr. Bateman before the Recorder was resumed.

July 6. The Bateman case was concluded, and he fined only $300. The *Masonic Record,* a new monthly paper, made its first appearance. The ordinance adopting the modified grades was passed by the Board of Aldermen.

July 7. Miss Kate Hayes gave a farewell concert at the Metropolitan Theater. A concert was given at Musical Hall for the benefit of the German Benevolent Society. The performance consisted of various selections from the operas, and the Odè Symphonie of the Desert. Madame Anna Bishop, Herr Mengis, Mr. Leach, Mr. Herold, the Turn Gesangverein, Sängerbund, and Philharmonic Society volunteered their services. The California Pioneers elected officers for the ensuing year.

July 8. Considerable excitement was produced by an attempt to fence in a portion of Merchant Street claimed by Mrs. Latimer. This lady had previously sold it to the city, but having not yet been paid, she endeavored in this way to regain possession. The excitement was further increased by a difficulty which occurred between the Mayor and City Marshal, the latter refusing to obey orders when commanded by the former to tear down the fence; he was in consequence impeached, and an investigation of the charges against him was commenced by the Board of Assistant Aldermen at a special meeting on that evening.

July 10. An extensive fire raged in the flourishing city of Columbia, almost completely destroying it.

July 11. The city was visited by a conflagration which commenced in the Golden Gate Hotel, at the northwest corner of Davis and Oregon streets, destroying property to the value of nearly $300,000.

July 12. The Board of Aldermen met in special session to investigate the charges made against Brandt Seguin, City Marshal, for misconduct in office.

July 13. A destructive fire visited Sacramento which reduced to ashes nearly one-third of the city. The Monumental Company, No. 6, went with their splendid new engine, recently received from Baltimore, to the assistance of Sacramento. The Board of Aldermen, sitting as a High Court of Impeachment, continued the examination of the charges against the City Marshal.

July 14. The steamship *America* was sold, under a judgment of the United States Court, to Messrs. Lucas, Turner & Co. for $95,000.

July 15. The P. M. S. S. *Sonora* arrived, twelve days from Panama, and the steamships *Sierra Nevada* and *California* departed for San Juan and Panama, carrying away treasure to the amount of $1,805,953.33. Ole Bull arrived, also Mr. and Mrs. James Stark, after a prosperous sojourn in Australia.

July 16. The Board of Aldermen concluded its examination of the charges against the City Marshal.

July 17. A line of stages established by Mr. Alfonso McCloud commenced running between Oakland and Stockton.

July 18. Backus's Minstrels made their re-appearance at San Francisco Hall. The steamship *Cortes* arrived, twelve days from San Juan. The Democratic Convention commenced its session at Sacramento. A scene of uproar and confusion ensued, in consequence of the disagreement of the two parties, the Electionists and the Anti-Electionists. A new bell, weighing 2,564 pounds, was hoisted to the belfry of the First Congregational Church and rung its tones so loud and sonorous as to exceed those of the city alarm bell. The Board of Aldermen found the City Marshal guilty of the charges made against him and suspended him from office till the 1st of September.

July 19. The grand opera and spectacle of *Der Freischutz* was brought out at the Metropolitan in an admirable manner, Madame Anna Bishop, Miss Julia Gould, Herr Mengis, and Beutler sustaining the principal parts. The bark *Libertad* arrived from Hong Kong with a large number of Chinese passengers in a most distressing condition. A disease, by some called scurvy and by others ship-fever, had broken out among them, and out of 500 passengers with whom the vessel left China, over 100 perished. As soon as the fact became known, the vessel, by the direction of the Mayor, was anchored in the bay and strict quarantine regulations established. The Democratic State Convention, holding its session in Sacramento, divided into two parties, the Anti-Electionists and Electionists, and held separate meetings. The former nominated General James W. Denver and Philip T. Herbert for Congress, and Charles A. Leake, Clerk of the Supreme Court. The latter, Messrs. William C. Latham and James A. McDougall for Congress, and Preston K. Woodside, Clerk of the Supreme Court. The Board of County Supervisors visited the new Hall of Records (formerly the *Alta California* office, which had been purchased for about $50,000 in city scrip), corner of Washington Street and Brenham Place.

July 20. A new 350 pound bell, presented by Mr. Ferdinand Vassault to the Pacific Fire Company, No. 8, was raised to the belfry of their engine house on Front Street, between Jackson and Pacific. An ordinance granting the right of using Market Street as a railroad track for thirty years was passed by the Common Council.

July 21. Messrs. Lee and Marshall gave a performance at their Circus for the entertainment of the children of the Common Schools, who were present in large numbers; the proceeds derived from additional spectators was devoted to the Pacific Library Fund, $273.50, and in the evening for the benefit of the Firemen's Charitable Fund. The old American Theater, on the northeast corner of Sansome and Halleck streets, having been pulled down, a new one was commenced upon its site.

July 22. Nine more deaths occurred among the unfortunate Chinese who arrived by the *Libertad*. The corner-stone of the new Jewish temple of the Congregation Emanuel, on Broadway between Powell and Mason streets, was laid. In it was deposited a metal box containing the constitution of the congregation, a paper printed in 1797, containing the "resignation" of General George Washington of the Presidency of the United States, the newspapers of San Francisco, a paper issued in 1852, Jewish papers and periodicals, a box of coin of the United States, a copy of the proceedings at the inaugurations of Franklin Pierce, President of the United States, of John Bigler, Governor of California, and of C. K. Garrison, Mayor of San Francisco. The Rev. Julius Eckman then read from the 11th verse to the end of the 28th Chapter of Genesis from a Jewish Bible, and invoked the blessing of Jehovah upon the edifice.

July 23. The house of Mr. F. G. Merchant, corner of California and Dupont, was entered and robbed of sundry articles of jewelry. Eight more cases terminated fatally on board the *Libertad*. The Rev. Dr. Scott organized a congregation, to be called the Cobourg Presbyterian Church of San Francisco.

July 24. Nine of the most desperate of the convicts at the State Prison at Marin rose upon the guard and, knocking him down, seized his gun and pistol and unsuccessfully attempted to take the sloop *Pike County*. They succeeded, however, in securing a whale-boat. In the struggle, one of them, the celebrated "Slung Shot" Smith, was shot dead, and several were wounded. On reaching the opposite shore, five were seen to leave the boat who, notwithstanding an immediate pursuit, managed to make their escape. Three, incapacitated by wounds, were taken back to prison. Ole Bull and Maurice Strakosch made their first appearance at the Metropolitan, and were welcomed by a large and enthusiastic audience. The U. S. revenue cutter, *Jefferson Davis*,

W. C. Pease commanding, arrived from New York *via* Charleston, Rio Janeiro, Valparaiso, and a cruise in search of the steamship *San Francisco*. An inquest was held upon the body of an insane Frenchman, named Auguste Rombeaux, which was found in the dock at Pacific Wharf. Captain North having been deputed to act in the place of the suspended City Marshal, R. B. Monks, formerly assistant, was installed into the office of Captain of the Police.

July 25. Seven more deaths occurred on board the *Libertad*, making thirty-seven since the arrival of that vessel in this port. The Whig State Convention assembled at Sacramento; J. Neely Johnson, Esq., was nominated for President, and the Convention proceeded to organize. The Riggers and Stevedores celebrated the anniversary of their association by a procession through the streets and a dinner at the Mission. The hod-carriers and tenders of Sacramento struck for higher wages, desiring $6 instead of $5 a day. Some of them gained their wish.

July 26. The *Times and Transcript* published a statement showing that, owing to the present high rents, 347 out of 1025 buildings erected for business purposes were unoccupied. Ten more deaths occurred on board the *Libertad*. Major G. W. Bowie, of Colusi, was nominated Whig candidate for Congress from the Northern District; Calhoun Benham, of San Francisco, from the Southern District; and J. R. Beard, of Nevada, candidate for the Clerkship of the Supreme Court.

July 27. A fire broke out at Marysville, on the corner of Second Street and Virgin Alley, and swept away two hundred frame houses, lumber, and other property whose value was estimated at $250,000. The Market Street Railroad ordinance was discussed by the Board of Assistant Aldermen, and was amended so as to give the franchise to such persons as should offer to relinquish the road to the city after the expiration of the least number of years—the highest term not to exceed twenty years. The steamboat *Enterprise*, the first boat of the Citizen's Steam Navigation Co., in opposition to the California Steam Navigation Co., arrived at Marysville.

July 28. William B. Sheppard was publicly executed for the murder of Henry C. Day on the evening of the 4th of April last. A scaffold had been erected in a ravine, about a quarter of a mile east of the Presidio, around which the California and City Guard were drawn up in a hollow square. The wretched man was attended thither by the Rev. John Ingoldsby, Sheriff William R. Gorham, Deputy Marshal Hampton North, and Captain Richard B. Monks, of the Police, while the National Lancers surrounded the carriage. At the scaffold, he shook hands with the gentlemen present, and calmly heard his death warrant read by the Sheriff. It is estimated that eight thousand persons witnessed the execution. Only one death occurred on board the *Libertad*.

July 29. In a store on Front Street, between Clay and Commercial, a fatal affray occurred between William B. Atkins and William S. Way, resulting in the death of the latter and the arrest of the former.

July 30. The new Presbyterian Church, on the corner of Union and Gray streets, under the charge of the Rev. James Woods, was consecrated. The steamship *Uncle Sam*, of the Independent Line, arrived, thirteen days, and the P. M. S. S. *Golden Gate*, twelve days from Panama. The Sabbath School of the First Congregational Church celebrated its fifth anniversary. The celebrated burglar, "Cock-Eye" Fury, was arrested while committing a burglary.

July 31. Mr. and Mrs. James Stark made their first appearance after their return from Australia at the Metropolitan, and were cordially received. The Nicaragua Accessory Transit Co.'s ship, *Pacific*, arrived, twelve days from San Juan. "Cock-Eye" Fury was sent up to the Court of Sessions.

August 1. The P. M. S. S. *Sonora* and the I. S. S. *Yankee Blade*, for Panama, and the Nicaragua S. S. *Brother Jonathan*, for San Juan del Sud, carried away treasure to the amount of $2,159,318.13. Five more deaths occurred among the passengers of the *Libertad*. Judge Ogden Hoffman, Jr., of the U. S. District Court, left by the *Sonora* on a visit to the Atlantic States. Messrs. Edwin Booth, David C. Anderson, William Evans, Miss Laura Keene, and Mrs. Evans set sail in the bark *M. A. Jones* for Australia. Little Miss Anna Quinn appeared as young Norval and Little Pickle at the Union, in both of which characters she gave great satisfaction. Judge Farwell took his seat as one of the U. S. Land Commissioners. Colonel C. R. Wheat left in the *Sonora* with the intention of participating in the Cuban expedition. D. Hale Haskell, Esq., of Adams & Company's Express, also left by the same steamer on a visit to the States. In the case of the City of San Francisco, claiming pueblo lands, the U. S. Commissioner, Alpheus Felch, announced that Commissioner R. Augustus Thompson and himself disagreed, and the case would have to be re-argued before a full board.

August 2. The Board of Supervisors invited proposals for constructing a House of Refuge upon the site, west of the Mission, lately purchased for that purpose at an immense price. A duel took place near the Mission between Messrs. A. J. Kelley and George Williams, in which the former was slightly wounded in the hand and the latter dangerously in the side; distance, thirty-five yards, weapons, six-inch Colt's revolvers. The mountain town of Bidwell, at Bidwell's Bar, was almost completely destroyed by fire.

August 3. Five more deaths occurred on board the *Libertad*. The case of the City of San Francisco claiming pueblo lands was submitted on briefs, agreeably to the permission of Commissioner Felch. [John W. Dwinelle's *The Colonial History of the City of San Francisco* is the expansion of his brief.]

August 4. A quarterly meeting of the Teachers' Association was held at the Unitarian Church, H. J. Wells, Esq., of the Board of Education, in the chair. The report of Superintendent William O'Grady showed that 1,745 children attended the public schools; that the expenses of the eleventh quarter, just closed, were $12,160; and that the Public School Library contained six hundred volumes. B. R. Buckelew published in the *Herald* a notice of "his invention of certain machinery, for the purpose of condensing atmospheric air by the force of wind, water-fall, ebb and flow of the tide, currents of rivers, steam-power, horse-power, and by gun powder and other explosives, to be used as a motive power, both in propelling steamboats and for manufacturing purposes," which he promises will be safer and far superior to any now in use.

August 5. Ole Bull and Maurice Strakosch gave a concert at Musical Hall for the benefit of the Fire Department Fund. The Grand Jury's report commended the cleanliness and general good order of the County Jail, Station House, State Marine Hospital and public schools, but reprobated the course pursued by the City Treasurer with regard to the School Fund moneys in his hands, and his absence from his office during business hours; also the manner in which the new County Road had been constructed; and finally the conduct of the Common Council and Board of County Supervisors in passing by "a unanimous vote" numberless exhorbitant bills. They presented four indictments against G. W. Baker, City Recorder, for misdemeanor in not paying over to the treasury of the city certain moneys collected by him; and one indictment for malicious mischief committed by Richard Taylor, Charles Hopkins, Daniel Merrifield, John Wall, M. C. Palmer, and Henry Vaugh, on the 12th July last, in pulling down and carrying away fifty rails of the fence of William D. Harrington. Captain Malony, of the bark *Libertad*, on board which were so many unfortunate Chinese passengers, was brought before the Recorder, charged with violation of the State Immigrant Law

of 1853 in not reporting within twenty-four hours after his arrival to the Commissioners of Immigrants.

August 6. The corner-stone of the new brick Jewish Temple of the Congregation Sherith was laid with appropriate ceremonies on Stockton Street, between Broadway and Vallejo. The services were conducted and the address delivered by Rabbi Julius Eckman. In the corner-stone were deposited a history of the rise and progress of the Congregation Sherith Israel, a copy of the By-laws of the Society, copies of the *Asmonean* and *Occident*, Jewish papers published in New York and Philadelphia; copies of the papers of the day, and also some coins. A race came off on the Union Course between "Ned McGowan" (pacer), "D. C. Broderick," and "Rhode Island" (trotter); mile heats, best three in five, in harness. "Rhode Island" won in three straight heats. Time, 2.46, 2.46, 2.44.

August 7. It is stated that an attempt was made to sink the *Cortez*, by some persons who secretly climbed on board of her as she lay at the Jackson Street Wharf. They succeeded in getting below, without being discovered, when they turned off the blower cock attached to the boilers, and the water rushed in rapidly. Before her condition was discovered, she had filled to the second deck. The ship's pumps being inadequate, the great steam pump of the Saucelito Water Company was brought into requisition, which, after working all day long, towards evening pumped her dry. The bedding and furniture was much injured, but the vessel received no serious damage. The first exhibition of "California on Canvas," a series of paintings of scenes in California, took place at Musical Hall.

August 8. An inquest was held upon the body of Captain Elihu Norton, found near the Stuart Street Wharf. The front walls of the brick buildings, corner of Battery and Merchant streets, occupied by Hill & Stillman and Starkweather and McClenahan, fell out, carrying the roof with them. They were being raised to the new grade at the time. The damage was estimated at $1200.

August 9. The ship *Potomac* was sold at auction by the U. S. Marshal under a $7,400 libel for carrying an excess of passengers.

August 10. The District Attorney brought suit against the bark *Libertad*, claiming $80,000 damages for violation of the State Immigrant Law of 1852-53. A bill presented at a meeting of the County Supervisors for cigars, liquors, and refreshments, furnished the Grand Jury by Castree & Byrne, and amounting to $689.50, excited a lively discussion.

August 11. A new local extravaganza was produced at the Metropolitan, entitled *Above and Below, or the $1,000 Prize Drama.* At the same place, in the afternoon, was had the drawing of Smith & Company's Raffle. It was conducted with great fairness and, though three thousand persons were present, with perfect order; Mr. George Hossefross presiding over the meeting, and little Miss Anna Quinn at the wheel and the drawing of the tickets. The lucky ticket which won the grand prize of $10,000 was held by a young man named Kelsey—who, after receiving his money, presented Miss Quinn with $500. Forty other tickets drew prizes of various values. The new iron Plaza fence is in process of erection.

August 12. Nine Chinese died on board the *Exchange*, a ship which had arrived from China the day before with 513 passengers, among whom a disease had broken out similar to that of the *Libertad*.

August 13. The Nicaragua Company's S. S. *Sierra Nevada* arrived, eleven days from San Juan, bringing news of the passage of the Pacific Telegraph Bill by the Senate, and of the appointment of Charles L. Weller as Deputy Postmaster at San Francisco,

in place of Thomas J. Henley, resigned, to take effect August 1, 1854. Yankee Sullivan, Dave Roberts, J. Winrow, and others had a trial of skill on the stage of the Metropolitan. The Turnvereins had a festival at Russ Garden.

August 14. Seven more unfortunate Chinese died on board the *Exchange*.

August 15. Large numbers of grasshoppers are doing great damage to the crops on the Calaveras and Mokelumne rivers.

August 16. The steamship *Peytona* arrived from Oregon, bringing in tow the *Lot Whitcomb*, intended to run on the Sacramento and Marysville route in opposition to the California Steam Navigation Company. The Port Orford mines are reported to be a failure. The P. M. S. S. *Oregon* left for Panama, carrying away treasure to the amount of $1,133,882.54; and the Nicaragua Company's S. S. *Cortez* for San Juan, to that of $1,022,016.40; total, $2,155,898.94. By a statement in the *Herald*, it appears that from the 1st of January, 1854, to date, the treasure shipped has amounted to $33,116,236.32; and in three years and seven months, viz: from the 1st of January, 1851, to date, the quantity shipped amounted to $168,272,236.32. Seventy-one deaths have occurred among the passengers of the *Exchange*. The British frigate *Amphitrite*, Captain C. Frederick, carrying twenty-four guns, and the French corvette *L'Artemise*, Captaine de L'Evegne, carrying thirty guns, a portion of the Allied fleet, twenty-two days from Honolulu, entered the harbor from an unsuccessful search for the Russians.

August 17. The sale of the reversionary interest of the State in upwards of seven hundred beach and water lots within the water front of the city was made by Messrs. Selover & Sinton, by order of the Board of California Land Commssioners. The price of each lot ranged from $5 to $3,700, the average being $100. The total amount of the whole sale was about $100,000. The corner-stone of the Second Baptist Church, on Bush Street between Dupont and Stockton streets, was laid. The City Guards exercised in target shooting near the New Catholic Church in Oakland, the distance, seventy yards. The first prize, a piece of gold-bearing quartz set in a gold frame, was won by Sergeant A. F. Loring; the second, a heavy gold cross, by Corporal J. T. Jones. On their return, the Guards had a supper at the Oriental Hotel. A. M. Perkins was brought before the Recorder for assault made upon a Mr. Shears, arising from the former's claiming one-fourth of the Union Race Course. The Democratic City Convention met and made additional nominations. Seven of the *Exchange* passengers died. The Whig Primary Election took place in the Sixth Ward. An unsuccessful attempt was made to carry off the ballot-box. In the Third Ward, the ballot-box was seized and dashed upon the floor with so much violence that it broke to pieces and the votes deposited in it became mingled with others that had not been voted. It became necessary to order another election for the ward. In the First Ward, the judges managed to escape with the ballot-box in their arms. It having been discovered that some of the delegates elected were Democrats, a new election was ordered.

August 18. The ship *John N. Gossler* arrived from Hongkong with four hundred Chinese passengers. The Pacific Guards went over to Oakland on a target excursion. Four of the *Exchange* passengers died. The thermometer at Sacramento stood at 114° in the shade. Campo Seco was destroyed by fire; loss $100,000.

August 19. The Whigs held a primary election in the First and Third wards. Mr. A. J. Neafie, a tragedian, arrived in the *Panama;* also a portion of the celebrated Germania Band.

August 20. A fire broke out at Mokelumne Hill and destroyed property to the value of $500,000. The town of St. Louis was totally destroyed by fire; loss $105,700. Six of the *Exchange* passengers died.

August 21. Eighteen of the *Exchange* passengers died. The bark *Louisa Jacoba Johanna* was libeled for bringing an excess of passengers. The Whig City and County Convention met and made additional nominations. The Bone and Sinew division of the Democratic City Convention met and made nominations. J. L. Folsom, Esq., presented the Masonic Fraternity of California with Rembrandt Peale's fine portrait of George Washington. Messrs. Barry & Patton presented the Common Council with a portrait of Sir Francis Drake.

August 22. Three hundred children of the Roman Catholic schools held a picnic at Russ's Garden. The body of a man perforated with bullets was found in the bushes on Fremont Street—no traces of the murderer. The Whig City and County Convention met and made nominations. The Consul of France announced that all vessels sailing under letters of marque, would, if captured, be considered as pirates unless their commanders and three-fourths of the crew were Russians.

August 23. The revenue cutter *W. L. Marcy*, S. Connell, Esq., Commander, arrived, having been detailed on special duty to convey Captain Graham, U. S. Topographical Engineers, the Inspector of Light Houses on the Pacific Coast. Two men were summarily executed by the people at Oakland for stealing cattle: one, a Frenchman named Armand Carcene; the other, a German named Peter Auclimbault. The affair made a great excitement. Mr. and Mrs. Samuel C. Hall, keepers of a boarding house on First Street, were arrested on an accusation of infanticide made by Dr. Taplin. The man was lodged in the Station House; the woman was released on a bail of $5,000. The Whig City and County Nominating Convention held another meeting.

August 24. The Manhattan Engine Company, No. 2, made a satisfactory trial of their new engine. The mining town of French Corral was destroyed by fire.

August 25. Dr. Ferdinand Loehr, editor of the German paper, the *California Democrat*, was attacked by Herman Wohler, on account of a political article which appeared in his paper. One hundred and twenty Chinese departed for the Flowery Kingdom in the clipper ship *Staghound*. A Spaniard was hanged by the people of Drytown for killing a Chinaman.

August 26. Eight hundred and forty Chinamen arrived from the Celestial Empire. The Whig County Convention nominated Mr. Samuel Flower, Public Administrator. Mr. John S. Hittell advertised his intention of giving a course of twelve lectures against Christianity.

August 27. Great excitement was created by the discovery of a forgery to the extent of $15,000 made by a young man named Walter Sherwood upon Messrs. Sweetzer, Hutchings & Co., George O. Whitney, and Messrs. Ellis & Co.

August 28. In the Board of Aldermen, an ordinance was passed to prevent interments in Yerba Buena Cemetery, and to provide for the same in the Lone Mountain Cemetery at two dollars a head. An ordinance was passed by the Board of Aldermen appropriating $10,000 to Mrs. Rose Greenhow, widow of the late Robert Greenhow, Esq., Associate Law Agent of the Board of U. S. Land Commissioners, as a compensation for the life of her husband.

August 29. Two of the *Exchange* passengers died. The clipper ships *Witchcraft* and *Starr King* set sail for Callao. It was thought there would be an exciting race between them. Mr. Wohler, examined by the Recorder on a charge of assaulting the editor of the *California Democrat*, was discharged.

August 30. The steamer *Brother Jonathan* brought news of appropriations which had been made by Congress: $50,000 for surveys of various rivers and harbors in California; $200,000 for a navy yard at San Francisco; $430,000 for fortifications at San Francisco.

August 31. The P. M. S. S. *Yankee Blade* arrived, bringing news of large appropriations made by Congress for the benefit of California, among which was one for refunding the State War Debt amounting to $950,000. Hon. Messrs. William M. Gwin and Milton C. Latham arrived as passengers. The coinage of the U. S. Branch Mint during the month of August was, in coin, to the value of $1,052,200; in bars, $722,148.23. In the infanticide case before the Recorder, Mrs. Hall gave bail in the sum of $10,000 for her appearance at the Court of Sessions.

September 1. P. M. S. S. *John L. Stephens,* for Panama, and N. C. S. S. *Pacific,* for San Juan, left, carrying away treasure to the value of $2,256,551.25. The I. S. S. *Uncle Sam,* which left in the afternoon for Panama, carried away treasure to the amount of $252,000.

September 2. The British frigate *Amphitrite* and the French corvette *L'Artemise* left the harbor on a cruise. Captain R. Hope, of the steamer *Guadaloupe,* committed suicide. The Camphene factory of J. M'Gainey, of Sacramento, valued at $1,000, was destroyed by fire.

September 4. Lucien Hermann, Esq., announced himself as an independent candidate for the Mayorality. Dr. Porter, the pound keeper of Oakland, and others were arrested on a charge of being implicated in the stealing of cattle. Messrs. Selover & Sinton sold real estate in the Encinal de San Antonio to the value of $25,000. The highest price bid for an acre lot was $750.

September 5. Dr. Porter was acquitted of any connection with the cattle stealing affair in Oakland. The report of the Board of Education for the year ending September 1, shows receipts of $103,530; disbursements of $103,568.50; number of teachers employed, twenty-two, seven male and fifteen female; and the whole number of pupils, 1,745. The house of Mr. Thomas Mountain, corner of Lombard and Kearny streets, was broken into and robbed of $1,200 belonging to the Stevedores' and Riggers' Association, of which Mr. Mountain was treasurer.

September 6. Election day, on which the people elected the Representatives to Congress, Clerk of the Supreme Court, State Senators and Assemblymen, and County and City officers. The Know Nothings were found to be in large numbers and exciting a powerful influence; few disturbances occurred about the polls.

September 7. Two persons named William Parsons and E. J. Smith published in the daily papers affidavits to the effect that they saw the judges and inspectors of the First Ward polls stuffing the ballot-boxes. A basket of magnificent peaches, one of them measuring ten and one-eighth inches in circumference, from Smith's Pomological Gardens in Sacramento, was on exhibition in the Horticultural Rooms of Warren & Company.

September 8. Mr. T. R. Hann, a distinguished actor of the People's Theater, had a benefit at which Mr. William B. Chapman and some of the best talent assisted. Great excitement existed in consequence of the frauds perpetrated at the First Ward polls; through fear that riot and bloodshed would ensue, two cannon, one an eight-, the other a ten-pounder, were loaded with iron slugs and placed opposite the polls, so as to command Front Street towards the south. Happily there was no occasion to use them. The new Synagogue of the Congregation Sherith Israel, situated on Stockton Street, between Broadway and Vallejo, was consecrated with imposing ceremonies.

September 9. The anniversary of the admission of California into the Union. Flags were displayed from the masts of vessels in the harbor, from various flagstaffs, and the most conspicuous places in the city. A procession, headed by Generals J. E. Wool and J. A. Sutter, attended by a number of gaily dressed marshals and General J. E.

Addison, and consisting of the California Pioneer Association, the Flying Artillery, Eureka Light Guard, National Lancers, the Marion Rifles, the Blues, the Monumental Engine Company, the Riggers and Stevedores, and a number of carts and wagons of '49, marched through the streets. A. Bartol, Esq., was the Grand Marshal of the day. At the Metropolitan Theater, a prayer was offered by the Rev. Albert Williams, an oration by E. J. C. Kewen, Esq., and a poem by Frank Soulé, Esq. At noon, a national salute was fired from the Plaza by a detachment of the California Guard. In the evening, a grand complimentary benefit was given at the same theater to Mrs. Catharine N. Sinclair by the military of the city at which the best talent of the city was engaged. The Associated Auctioneers, at a meeting, selected the San Francisco *Herald* for the exclusive vehicle of their advertisements. Mayor Garrison published a card denying the accusations which had been made against him of using unfair means at the election to defeat his competitor.

September 10. Monsieur and Madame Monplaisir had a benefit at the Metropolitan, previous to their departure for the Atlantic States. A desperate but frustrated attempt was made late at night to carry off the ballot-box of the Second Ward.

September 11. It is at last announced definitely, that the "anti-election" wing of the Democratic party was triumphant in the State at the late election.

September 12. Painful rumors reached San Francisco to the effect that a fight had occurred at Guaymas between the Sonorians and Raousset Boulbon's party of Frenchmen, in which the latter were worsted and Boulbon sentenced to be shot.

September 13. Mr. H. A. DeCourcy, a gentleman long connected with the California press, died yesterday.

September 14. The first number of the *Leader*, a weekly journal published in San Francisco and Oakland by H. Davidson, appeared yesterday. An affray occurred at the Eagle Saloon between James Campbell and Peter Veeder in which the former was shot dead. Veeder was arrested. The Synagogue of the Congregation Emanuel was consecrated.

September 16. News arrived from the Sandwich Islands to the effect that the ports of the kingdom, so far as shipping and navigation are concerned, have been declared free.

September 18. News arrived from the South confirming the reported disaster to Boulbon and his party.

September 21. The grand Biblical spectacle opera of *Judith* was brought out with great success at the Metropolitan, Madame Anna Bishop sustaining the principal part, assisted by Monsieur Laglaise, Mr. Leach, Madame Thierry, and Messrs. Roncovieri and Bernardelli. A duel was fought near Clinton between Messrs. Dorsey and Brown, of Los Angeles, in which the latter had his left arm badly shattered. A Chinese damsel, in accordance with the customs of her people, committed suicide in consequence of inability to meet her pecuniary liabilities.

September 22. The Sisters of Charity held a fair at Musical Hall for the benefit of the Catholic Orphan Asylum. Patrick Haskins, a laborer, while excavating on Second, near Natoma Street, was killed by the caving in of an embankment. The new Rincon Point School House, under the charge of Mr. John Swett, was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies.

September 23. The Grand Jury returned a bill of indictment against the notorious Jim Turner for assault with deadly weapons; also against Peter Veeder for murder. The Fifth District Public School House, corner of Stockton and Francisco streets, was

dedicated with appropriate ceremonies, the most distinguished feature of which was an excellent speech by Frederick Billings, Esq.

September 24. A letter was published in some of the newspapers of the city, addressed by Count Raousset de Boulbon to the French Consul, expressing his motives and intentions in invading Sonora.

September 25. The contract for building the Market Street railroad was awarded to William Dennis. A new German daily paper, called the *Evening Gazette*, made its appearance. H. B. M. ship *Rattlesnake*, Henry Trollope, commanding, arrived from a search in the Arctic seas for Sir John Franklin, and brought news of H. B. M. ship *Enterprise*, which it was feared had been lost in those seas. Mr. and Mrs. Barney Williams (who had arrived on the 19th) made their first appearance at the Metropolitan Theater before an immense audience. The trial of Samuel C. Hall and Mary A. Hall, his wife, charged with the murder of their child on the 18th of June, was commenced in the Fourth Judicial District Court. The Mayor approved certain ordinances appropriating $200,000 to the Street and Fire Department funds. The U. S. District Court ordered a decree of forfeiture to be entered against the bark *Libertad*, libeled for carrying an excess of passengers, and dismissed the libel made for the same cause against the ship *Exchange*.

September 27. The *Commercial Advertiser* discontinued publication. A two story wooden store, situated on Clay Street Wharf and occupied by Messrs. Blaisdell & Co., fell with a crash, causing a loss to the occupants of $2,000. Chief Engineer Charles P. Duane, having won a splendid pianoforte in a raffle at the Ladies' Fair at Musical Hall, presented it to the Orphan Asylum. A suit for sixty dollars was brought against the city, being an amount for services as special policemen at the Second Ward polls during the late election. The Board of Aldermen confirmed the nomination, made by the Mayor, of Henry Haight and John Middleton to fill the vacancies in the Board of Fund Commissioners. Also passed an ordinance remitting $15,000 from the judgment obtained against Lewis Teal; also approved the contract for paving Kearny Street opposite the Plaza.

September 28. Eight prisoners killed one of their keepers, named Powell, and made their escape from the State Prison at Point San Quentin. Messrs. Marriott & Wheeler opened a bank of deposits, at which amounts as small as ten dollars would be received and draw interest of one and a half per cent. per month. In the case of Mr. and Mrs. Hall, tried for infanticide, the jury brought in a verdict of acquittal for Mrs. Hall, but could not agree upon the guilt of her husband. It was stated that they stood ten for acquittal and two for conviction. The jury were discharged, and a new trial for Hall ordered.

September 29. Miss Pellet delivered a lecture at Musical Hall upon "Political Reform and the means of securing it." Prisoners Hending and Lees, arrested for burglary, effected their escape from the Station House by breaking a hole through the front wall on Kearny Street.

September 30. A statement in the *Prices Current* showed that the immigration during the past nine months had been 43,028; the emigration, 16,284; leaving a net addition to the population of the State of 26,744, of which 13,255 consisted of Chinese, and 13,489 of passengers from the Atlantic States and Europe. A concert was given at Musical Hall for the benefit of the Catholic Orphan Asylum at which Mesdames Anna Bishop, Van Guelpen and Miss Maria Leach, Messrs. Mengis, Leach, Bochsa, and other eminent artists assisted. A man named Grove C. McMickle was murdered by a person named John York. A new steamer called the *Queen City*, of four hundred tons measurement,

was launched at Rincon Point. Miss Sophia Larkin performed its baptismal rites. P. M. S. S. *Sonora* and I. S. S. *Yankee Blade* left for Panama, carrying treasure to the amount of $462,770.31. The Nicaragua steamship left for San Juan del Sud, with treasure to the value of $838,968.00; total amount shipped, $1,301,738.31. The Grand Jury for the month of September presented their report to the Court of Sessions. It adverted to the danger of disease and fire to which the city was exposed by the filthy habits and carelessness of the Chinese population; approved the condition and management of the State Hospital, County Jail, City Prison and public schools; and recommended that separate apartments be provided for the accommodation of those who were detained to testify against persons charged with crime, that they need not be confined with them, as at present, in the common jail. It directed attention to the law against raffles and lotteries; it alleged that the inefficiency of the police in many instances was traceable to a want of integrity, and advised more care in future appointments. It referred all complaints about obstruction in the harbor to the harbor-master, and advised the removal of the powder magazine, located on the corner of Hyde and Vallejo streets, to some more remote locality. A German named Prendt, fell through an opening in Commercial Street, and broke his leg.

October 1. Miss Sarah Pellet gave a second lecture at Musical Hall, on the subject of "True Democracy." Her audience consisted of twenty-four persons. News received from Mexico stated that Count Raousset Boulbon had been sentenced to be shot on the 19th of September.

October 2. Observed by the Jewish population as a day of fasting and prayer. H. B. Waller, the new City Recorder, and the new Board of Aldermen entered upon the discharge of their duties. His Honor, Mayor S. P. Webb, took the oath of office, administered by Judge T. W. Freelon, before a joint convention of the newly elected Common Council, and delivered his inaugural address. J. F. Atwill was elected President of the Board of Aldermen, and Henry Haight, President of the Board of Assistant Aldermen. A joint resolution was passed, fixing the bond of the City Treasurer, Tax Collector, Controller, Marshal, Attorney, Street Commissioner, Recorder, and Assessors. Mr. T. Dehon was elected Clerk of the Board of Assistant Aldermen. W. H. Smith, an old Californian, committed suicide at Martinez by shooting himself. Orrin Bailey, Esq., and C. M. Chamberlain were elected Associate Justices of the Court of Sessions by a convention of the Justices of the Peace, elected at the late election. A statement in the *California Chronicle* showed that the German Benevolent Society comprised four hundred members; that it had expended $400 monthly for the relief of sick and needy Germans; and had $5,500 out at interest. A section of the East Street Wharf, near Jackson, twenty feet in length, gave way and precipitated 40,000 bricks into the water.

October 3. Three French men-of-war, the frigate *La Forte*, of sixty guns, bearing the flag of Rear Admiral Des Pointes, the frigate *Eurydice*, of thirty-six guns, Captain M. de la Grandière, and the brig *Obligado*, of eighteen guns, Captain Rosencourt, arrived in the harbor to refit after an unsuccessful attack which they had made, in conjunction with the British fleet, upon Petropaulowski, a fortified seaport situated upon the Eastern coast of Kamschatka. The U. S. Land Commissioners decided the claim of the city to pueblo lands in its favor, adopting for its boundaries those described by General Vallejo. Preparations were commenced for paving Kearny Street, between Clay and Washington.

October 4. Judge Waller decided that Chinese, when sworn as witnesses in his court, should take oath as usually administered to Christians, and not by their usual form of burning yellow paper. The Marion Rifles made their third annual target excursion. The scene of their exhibition at target shooting was at Manayunk, near Oakland. The first

prize, a magnificent mounted rifle, was won by Henry G. Grim, and presented by Mrs. C. N. Sinclair with a neat and appropriate speech. The second prize, a massive Maltese cross, was won by Mr. John Torrence; and the third, a huge leather medal, by William Lawler. Of Company B, the first prize, a heavy silver pitcher, was won by Mr. Robert Hays, and the second, a leather medal, by Colonel Warner. The exercises were closed by a collation. William Fury, *alias* "Cock-Eye," a notorious thief who lately escaped from the State Prison, was arrested while attempting to make his escape as a common sailor on board the *John Stuart*, about to sail for Callao. The "tall liberty-pole," which has stood in front of the *Commercial Advertiser* building since 1852, was taken down. The Pennsylvania Engine Company received their new engine per ship *Golden West*. The Agricultural Exhibition commenced at Musical Hall. The new Board of County Supervisors met for the first time in the rooms of the Board of Aldermen. Mr. C. Carvalho was appointed Chinese Interpreter to the Recorder's Court.

October 5. Mr. John Crane was elected Clerk of the Board of Aldermen. The Plaza fence was completed. The bankers of the city agreed to receive one-franc pieces at twenty cents, instead of twenty-five cents, as hitherto. Several Chinamen were examined before the Recorder, charged with attempts at bribery.

October 6. The exhibition of California cattle and horses commenced at the Pioneer Race Course. Some of the finest horses in the State were there to be seen, conspicuous among which was the Kentucky stallion, "Peacock," owned by I. C. Woods, Esq. Commodore Robert S. Martin, marine reporter, was presented with a handsome telescope by Commodore Theodore H. Allen. The Special Committee of the Common Council commenced investigating the matter of the First Ward election frauds. Dr. J. F. Winslow delivered an address at the State Agricultural Fair in Musical Hall. At the hotel of Ah Kuang, on Dupont Street, several Chinamen, while attempting to extort a fine for the benefit of the Triad Society, got into a row and were arrested by the police.

October 7. The city was thrown into a state of intense excitement by the discovery of some extensive forgeries made by Henry Meiggs, and of his escape in the bark *America*. It was found that he had forged Controller's warrants to the value of $385,000, and notes upon William N. Thompson & Co. to the amount of $33,000. He had addressed a letter to Messrs. Godeffroy, Sillem & Co., to be handed to them after his departure, in which he informed them of his guilt, and confessed judgment to them in the sum of $200,000. He had also made over-issues of stock of the California Lumber Company to the amount of $300,000, which he had hypothecated. It was thought that he carried away with him about $300,000. His family and brother, John G. Meiggs, elected City Controller at the late election, with a few of his friends, were supposed to have left with him. Mr. Leander Benham was arraigned before the Recorder on a charge of obtaining $125 by false pretenses from Alderman Buckingham, and also of stealing a diamond pin and other articles of jewelry from a woman named Mary Hamett. The Supreme Court decided that the testimony of Chinese could not be admitted against white people.

October 8. New developments about Meiggs' forgeries, increased the excitement. Adams & Co., in connection with other gentlemen interested, chartered the steamship *Active*, to go in search of Meiggs in the bark *America*, but when attempting to come alongside a hulk to coal, she stove in her wheel-house and was thus prevented from leaving the harbor. Ferdinand Vassault, Esq., claimed the office of City Controller, made vacant by the departure of J. G. Meiggs, on the ground of having received the next highest vote. Mr. Lyman Mooney was arrested on a charge of cracking the skull of a man named Michael McCulloch, and John Turner for biting off Michael Cullen's nose.

October 9. News was received of the loss of the steamship *Yankee Blade,* while on her passage to Panama. She struck a reef of rocks off Point Arguello, about fifteen miles above Point Conception, and soon afterwards became a total wreck; about thirty lives were lost, and about $163,000 in treasure and specie. The steamship *Goliath* reached the scene of the disaster in time to save many of the passengers, some of whom she brought to San Francisco, while others remained on shore in the neighborhood, or found their way to San Diego, Los Angeles, and other places. It was said immediately after she struck, the notorious Jim Turner and about thirty of his confederates, who had been secreted on board, enacted a scene of murder and rapine too horrible to be described. As soon as possible after the receipt of the sad intelligence, the steamship *Brother Jonathan* was dispatched to the rescue of the unfortunate passengers. The City Guard, in handsome new uniforms and accompanied by the California Guards, paraded through the streets. James Smith, indicted for the murder of Burke at the Union Hotel on the 10th of March last, was found guilty of manslaughter by the jury in the Fourth District Court. L. Benham was acquitted of the charge of obtaining money under false pretenses from Alderman Buckingham, but was sentenced to pay a fine of $250, or suffer thirty days' imprisonment, on the charge of petit larceny in stealing various articles of jewelry from Mary Hamett.

October 10. A man named Samuel Kenny was arrested on a charge of being one of the robbers on board the *Yankee Blade.* Articles of jewelry to the value of $60 were found upon his person. Mr. William G. Greene was elected Sergeant-at-Arms of the Board of Aldermen.

October 11. The celebrated felon known as "Six-Toed Pete" was arrested at the Mission; also, at the same place, a Mr. E. J. Nichols, charged with attempting to shoot policeman John S. Nugent.

October 12. The *Uncle Sam* arrived, twenty-three days from the Atlantic States, having made the quickest trip on record.

October 13. In the U. S. District Court, in the case of the United States *vs.* William Walker, the question of the right of the Court to compel the attendance of the French Consul as a witness was again argued. A grizzly bear made his appearance in Jackson Street, and frightened its inhabitants considerably before he could be recaptured by his keeper.

October 14. The steamer *Napa* ran on to the rocks at the entrance to the Straits of Carquines; all the passengers were saved. Smyth Clark, Secretary of the Board of California Land Claims and Clerk of the late Mayor, was arrested on an affidavit of Mayor Webb charging him with having secreted or embezzled $300,000 worth of notes, warrants, and other evidences of indebtedness belonging to the city. "General Childs" was arrested by Marshal McKenzie for vagrancy, and the Recorder concluded to send him to the Insane Asylum.

October 15. The passengers of the *Yankee Blade,* brought up on the *Brother Jonathan,* had a meeting on the Plaza, in which they passed several resolutions, condemning the conduct of Captain Randall and of the Independent Line, and others complimentary to the Nicaragua Line and Captain Seabury of the *Brother Jonathan,* to whom they also made a present of a handsome gold chronometer and chain as a token of their appreciation of his kindness to them during the passage up.

October 16. The spectacle opera of *Judith* was brought out at the Metropolitan, Madame Anna Bishop, assisted by Messrs. Leach, Laglaise and Roncovieri, performing the principal parts. The new steamship *Golden Age,* of the P. M. S. S. Line, 3,500 tons burthen, arrived, fourteen days from Panama. Among the distinguished arrivals were

Lieutenant N. Mitchler, U. S. A., with party, commissioned to make the boundary survey between the United States and Mexico under the Gadsden treaty; Christy's celebrated band of minstrels; Governor Stevens, of Washington Territory and family; and Sir Henry Huntley, Bart., manager of the Anglo California Gold Mining Company. The Supreme Court confirmed the sentence of policeman John Nugent to one year's imprisonment for shooting a young man in the hand, during a drunken quarrel. The ladies of the Rev. William Robinson's congregation commenced a fair at Musical Hall, in aid of that church (the Second Baptist). The Knickerbocker Engine Company took passage on board the steamer *Antelope*, on a visit to Sacramento.

October 17. Flutow's comic opera of *Martha* was produced at the Metropolitan Theater. Madame Anna Bishop, assisted by Mrs. Fiddes, who, on the occasion made her début before a California audience, Messrs. Leach, Laglaise and Chapman performing the principal parts. John Addis, the late Street Commissioner, was accused of squatting on the Public Square, bounded by Stockton, Geary, Powell and Post streets. Benjamin Parker was arrested for proffering a forged check upon Lucas, Turner & Co. for $209.17, purporting to have been drawn by W. H. C. Whiting, First Lieutenant, U.S. Engineers.

October 18. The ballet pantomime of *Red Monster and White Warrior* was brought out at the Metropolitan, with Espinosa, Thierry, Bernardelli, and Gredelue in the principal parts. The Knickerbocker Fire Company, on their return from their visit to Sacramento, were met and escorted through the streets by several of the engine companies with music. Major General J. A. Sutter appointed the following gentlemen to his staff, with the rank of lieutenant colonel: J. W. Finley, Andrew Jackson Moulder, P. W. Van Winkle, Edward Carey, W. D. Harris, Aide-de-Camps; Arthur B. Stout, Surgeon; David Henriques; Calhoun Benham, Judge-Advocate. The Deluge and Manhattan engine companies had a trial of their engines which was perfectly satisfactory.

October 19. In the case of William Walker, tried for a breach of the neutrality laws of the United States, the jury brought in a verdict of not guilty. A new fire company, called the Peterson Engine Company, No. 15, was admitted into the Fire Department.

October 20. Governor John Bigler designated the 23rd of November as a day of Thanksgiving. A statement was published in the *California Chronicle* showing the value of real estate in San Francisco to be $38,000,000; and of personal property, $5,000,000. The Common Council elected the following gentlemen: J. T. Dehon, Clerk of the Common Council; T. B. Valleau, Sergeant-at-Arms; T. Billings and William Sherman, citizen members of the Board of Education; J. B. Moore and John Perry, Council Members; J. S. Easton, City Engineer; E. F. Norton, Collector of Street Assessments; James C. Harran, Inspector of Markets; Dr. B. A. Sheldon, City Physician; N. P. Smith, Keeper of the City Hall; George M. Garwood, Health Inspector.

October 21. Early in the evening, a very severe shock of an earthquake was felt. The motion was horizontal, nearly from east to west. There were five distinct vibrations, continuing about three seconds. The steamship *Carolina* returned from the wreck of the *Yankee Blade*. In consequence of the fog and the tempestuous state of the weather, no treasure or other articles of value could be recovered. All vestiges of the wreck had entirely disappeared. A statement in the *Herald* showed that the total amount of treasure shipped during the quarter ending October 1, was $13,794,960.47; of which $12,609,407.97 was destined for the Atlantic States, and $1,185,552.50, to foreign ports. The *Journal of Commerce* discontinued publication. The California Guard, Captain Johns, visited, by invitation, the French Admiral's ship *La Forte*, where they were favorably received and handsomely entertained by Admiral Des Pointes and the officers of his fleet.

October 22. By a statement in the *California Chronicle* the value of taxable property in San Francisco was shown to be $34,296,195, and the amount of taxes received, including licenses. $1,400,000. Miss Mary St. Clair, a necromancer, made her first appearance at the Metropolitan. Christy's Minstrels gave their first concert at Musical Hall before one of the largest audiences ever gathered in that place. Mr. Frank Turk was committed to prison for refusing to testify in the case of Mr. Hamilton Bowie, but was a few hours afterwards released on a writ of habeas corpus. The Common Council elected a number of policemen, and James McDonald, Captain; Thomas H. Morton, Assistant Captain; and John S. Durkee, 2d Assistant Captain. The ship *Golden Fleece*, which had been lying on the rocks at Fort Point, went to pieces about this time.

October 23. Mayor Webb approved all the appointments of policemen, with the exception of five, who were objected to because they were adopted and not native born citizens. Marshal J. W. McKenzie appointed R. B. Monks, late Assistant Captain, his Deputy. The Board of Education re-elected W. H. O'Grady Superintendent of Public Instruction. The Monumentals and Manhattans had a trial of their engines. The gallery stream of the first engine measured 177 feet. The steamship *Sierra Nevada*, the first in the combination line, left for San Juan, carrying treasure to the value of $596,198. A number of prisoners, among whom was "Jimmy from Town," escaped from the State Prison at Point San Quentin.

October 24. Dr. Robert Semple, an old California pioneer and founder of the *Californian*, the first paper published in the State, died at Colusi. In the 4th Judicial District, David S. Turner, Treasurer, commenced a suit by *mandamus* against Hamilton Bowie, for the delivery of the books of accounts, books of records, and other papers belonging to the Treasurer's Office, and also the amount of at least $336,380 in Comptroller's warrants, besides the sum of $51,000 in money—all belonging to the City of San Francisco. A quantity of coal in a coal hulk at the Stewart Street Wharf became ignited by spontaneous combustion, but was soon extinguished by the firemen. The Cadets and Sons of Temperance had a grand parade through the streets.

October 25. A sale was made by A. A. Selover of the remaining interest of the State in about 1700 water lots situated between Rincon and Clark's Points and on North and South Beach; a few lots brought $50 to $75 each, but the average price was about $30. A mass and requiem was performed at the Vallejo Street Church for the repose of the soul of Count de Raousset Boulbon. The County Treasurer's report, published in the *California Chronicle*, shows the total amount of receipts for four years ending June 30, 1854, to be $983,640.95, and of disbursements, $923,527.15. Of receipts from June 30 to October 26, 1854, $196,530.82, and of disbursements, $69,205.88. That the total indebtedness of the County on October 26 was $675,337.75, and that the amount of State Auction Tax collected in the County for the quarter ending October 1, 1854, was $11,921.05.

October 26. Major General Wool, attended by his staff and several officers of the line, and accompanied by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Kip, Hon. John B. Weller, U. S. Senator, and the late Mayor, Hon. C. K. Garrison, paid a visit of compliment to Admiral Des Pointes on board the French frigate *La Forte*. The operetta of *Jeanette's Wedding* was brought out at the Metropolitan, Madame Anna Bishop and Mr. Leach sustaining the principal parts. The Russian prize ship *Sitka*, captured by the Allied fleet, arrived, twelve days from Vancouver, under command of Lieutenant Grove. An elocutionary exhibition was given by the scholars of the Rincon Point School, under the charge of Mr. J. Swett; also an examination and exhibition of School No. 3, under the superintendence of Mr. James Denham, both of which were highly satisfactory. Judge Freelon decided that County Courts had no jurisdiction in civil cases.

October 27. The People's Theater was opened one night for the benefit of Mr. Hann. The Whigs nominated Mr. Ferdinand Vassault for the office of City Comptroller. A pole was erected on the top of the new American Theater which reached 160 feet from the ground, a present from the architect, Mr. A. P. Pettit, to the stockholders. A great excitement was caused by Mr. B. E. Holland taking possession of a lot on the corner of Pacific and Stockton streets, on the ground that the former occupant, a Mr. Gercke, being a foreigner, his heirs could not inherit. H. B. M. discovery ship *Plover*, Captain Maguire, arrived from the Arctic seas. This vessel has been absent from England since 1848, most of which time she has been searching for Sir John Franklin. She brought no news of that distinguished voyager. Also arrived, H.B.M. ship *Virago*, Captain Marshall, from Vancouver, one of the Allied fleet.

October 28. H. B. M. ship *President*, Commander M. S. Connelly, one of the Allied fleet, arrived from Vancouver and anchored at Saucelito.

October 29. The speech of the English Consul, General William Miller, delivered at Honolulu on the 18th of October before King Kamehameha III, upon the question of the annexation of the Sandwich Islands to the United States, was published in the morning papers, and the sentiments which it contained derogatory to Americans excited a great deal of discussion.

October 30. The spectacle of the *Naiad Queen* was successfully brought out in a magnificent style at the Metropolitan. The examination of Hamilton Bowie was concluded, and the Recorder, considering that his case ought to go before the Grand Jury, fixed his bail at $10,000. The San Francisco Blues, commanded by Capt. William R. Gorham, and accompanied by Kendall's Band, went on a target excursion to the Lake House. The distance of the target from the marksmen was sixty yards. Two shots were put exactly in the bull's eye. The first prize, a gold medal, was won by Sergeant Robert Farren; the second, also a gold medal, by Private Dennison; the third, a gold horse, presented by J. W. Tucker, was won by Private J. N. Potter; the fourth, a monthly order for a new hat from J. P. Everett, was won by Private McVeigh; the fifth, a suit of clothes, presented by Keyes & Co., was won by Private Walsh; the sixth, a leather medal by Private Nuttman. The company and their guests enjoyed an excellent dinner at the Lake House. In the evening, on their return to the city, they were met by the City Guards, Captain John A. Clark, and escorted through the principal streets to their armory, where they partook of a sumptuous entertainment. Mr. Holland made a conditional surrender of the possession of the lot on the corner of Pacific and Stockton streets, to a Mr. Gercke, the administrator of the estate of the man who formerly owned it. H. B. M. ship *Pique*, forty guns, Captain Sir F. E. W. Nicholson, of the Allied fleet, arrived, fifteen days from Esquimaux Harbor, and anchored at Saucelito. The officers of the British Squadron and General Wool exchanged visits of courtesy. A complimentary salute of twenty-one guns was fired from the English ship which was returned from the fort on Alcatraz Island.

October 31. Hon. Alexander Wells, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of California, died at his residence in San Jose. The Nicaraguan S. S. *Cortes* arrived, thirteen days from San Juan. It brought news of the death of Doctor Valentine Mott, Jr., of yellow fever, at New Orleans. Among her passengers were Signora Barili Thorn, Miss P. Patti, and others of the Italian Opera Troupe engaged by Mrs. Sinclair. All the courts adjourned in memory of Judge Wells.

November 1. The P. M. S. S. *John L. Stephens* sailed for Panama, carrying the mails and treasure to the amount of $1,872,039.21. The case of Hamilton Bowie was decided against him in the District Court, and a *mandamus* issued requiring him to surrender to Colonel Turner the books and papers which the latter had laid claim to. Twenty special

policemen were appointed by Marshal McKenzie and took the oath of office before Mayor Webb. The P. M. S. S. *Sonora* arrived, fourteen days from Panama. Among the passengers was E. C. Kemble, Esq., one of the editors of the *Alta California*, who returned from his European tour. A meeting of the members of the bar was held in the court room of the Twelfth District, which passed a series of resolutions expressive of respect to the memory of Judge Wells. Statements published in the *California Chronicle* showed that during the month of October gold dust had been deposited in the Mint to the value of $54,397.41, and gold coined to the value of $622,000; and that the annual cost of smoking cigars alone to the people of California and Oregon was $8,568,750.

November 2. The work of paving with cobble-stones Washington Street, between Dupont and Kearny, was commenced and the Plaza, with handsome gravel walks and grass plots, was thrown open for the convenience of pedestrians.

November 3. The "Know Nothings" nominated William T. Sherman for City Comptroller. The handsome house of Knickerbocker Engine Company, No. 5 was completed.

November 4. The new steamboat *Queen City* made an excursion to Sacramento with a number of invited guests and many members of the California Guard. The San Francisco Press Club were given a dinner at the Railroad House by Messrs. Haley & Thompson.

November 6. In the U.S. District Court, Captain James Stockdale, of the British ship *Coronation* was fined $500 for breaking open the hatches of that ship, on the 27th of September, after they had been locked by the Custom House officers.

November 7. By a statement in the *California Chronicle*, it appeared that the city had, at this date, forty suits pending. Of those in which she was plaintiff, the demands amounted to $48,529; of those in which she was defendant, the demands amounted to $202,597; and the amount of the judgments outstanding against the city, given in the District and Superior Courts, was $31,921.26. An election was held for City Controller to fill the vacancy occasioned by the failure to qualify of John G. Meiggs. William T. Sherman the "Know Nothing" candidate, was elected by a majority of 900 votes. H. B. M. frigate *Amphitrite*, Captain C. Fredericks, arrived, seventeen days from Honolulu.

November 8. The official returns of the late election showed the total vote of the State to be 84,604. A fatal duel occurred near Oakland between Colonel D. J. Woodlief and Achilles Kewen, Esq., in which the former lost his life. The distance was forty paces, and the weapons, Mississippi rifles. Colonel Woodlief fell dead at the first discharge. Mr. Kewen, who was the challenged party, received no injury.

November 9. Several persons charged with illegally blockading Leidesdorff Street with fish and fruit stands were fined $50 each by the Recorder. A diminutive daily paper, ten by twelve inches in size, entitled *Town Talk*, made its first appearance. The Nicaraguan S. S. *Cortes* left for San Juan, carrying away treasure to the value of $873,280, and among her passengers, Hon. J. B. Weller and lady, Hon. J. A. McDougall, and Winslow S. Pierce, late State Comptroller. A prize fight took place at Grass Valley between Con. Fitzgerald and Hugh Kelly; 4,000 people attended as spectators. At the seventh round, the latter went down, when the ropes were cut and the spectators rushing in put an end to the disgraceful proceedings.

November 10. The new Public School House of district No. 4, situated on Union Street, between Kearny and Broadway, was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies. Mayor Webb presided. Prayers were offered by Rev. Messrs. B. Brierly and R. P. Cutler; several original songs, written by Messrs. J. Truett and E. Grady were sung, and speeches creditable both to themselves and the occasion were delivered by His Honor, Mayor Webb, Messrs. Cutler, Moore and Billings.

November 11. The Pennsylvania Fire Company, No. 12, tried their new engine. It threw a stream of water 179 feet through 350 feet of hose and a seven-eighths nozzle. The first sale of fifty-vara lots west of Larkin Street was made by Messrs. Wainright, Randall & Co. The U. S. steam frigate *Susquehanna*, Commander Franklin Buchanan, arrived, eleven days from Honolulu.

November 12. The third anniversary meeting of the City Tract Society was held in the First Congregational Church. Wheeler, the pedestrian, completed the great feat of walking one hundred consecutive hours.

November 13. The St. Francis Hook & Ladder Company, No. 1, housed their new truck, which had been built at an expense of $4,500 by Messrs. J. Berry & Co. of this city. The occasion was celebrated by a procession of the members of the company and friends. The P. M. S. S. *Golden Gate* arrived, eleven days and sixteen hours from Panama. She brought news of the wreck of the steamship *Arctic*, of the Collins line, by which 300 lives were lost.

November 14. Mrs. Patrick Dillon presented to the Lafayette Hook & Ladder Company, No. 2, a handsome gold embroidered silk banner, made in France, which the company acknowledged by a vote of thanks. The Italian Opera Company made its first appearance in *Ernani*, Madame Barili Thorn, assisted by Signora Becherini, Signs. Leonardi, Lanzoni, Scola and Laglaise, performing the principal parts. Barili was enthusiastically received, and the representation was highly successful. The twelfth quarterly report of the public schools, published in the *Herald*, showed the number of scholars during the present year to be 3,780, and an increase over that of last year of 571 boys and 479 girls, making a total of 1,050.

November 15. Judge Edward Norton, of the Twelfth Judicial District Court, in the case of Hood *vs.* Fish & Williams, made an important decision against the validity of tax titles. In the case of Leonard *vs.* Darlington, in the Fourth Judicial District Court, involving the question of the southern boundary of the city, the jury found a verdict sustaining the decision of the U. S. Land Commissioners. The Mercantile Library Association had a benefit at the Metropolitan Theater. The drawing of Duncan's great Art-Union Raffle took place at the Metropolitan Theater. The first prize, the Napoleon drawings or a gold ingot worth $5,000, was won by Captain Warren, of the sloop *Roman*.

November 16. Judge Freelon, of the Court of Sessions, decided that no trial for crime or misdemeanor could be valid unless made by a jury. The new steamer *Eclipse* was launched from the foot of Third Stret—she is the largest steamer ever launched in California, being 235 feet long, 33 feet beam, 8 feet hold. She was built in New Albany, Indiana, taken to pieces, brought hither and again put together—she has six boilers, and two high pressure engines of 800 horse power, cost $200,000 and is intended for the Sacramento trade. The P. M. S. S. *Golden Gate* left, carrying treasure to the value of $1,675,318.

November 17. General Vallejo gave additional testimony before the U. S. Land Commission, which altered somewhat the direction of the southern boundary of the city, bringing it further to the North than was hitherto supposed. Monsieur and Madame Monplaisir had a benefit at the "People's Theater." In the case of Lewis *vs.* Gordon & Steen, being an action brought before the Twelfth District Court to recover damages for injuries sustained by the explosion of the steamboat *Secretary*, the jury brought in a verdict against the defendants and awarding plaintiff $2,000. The French frigate *Eurydice* left the harbor, destination unknown.

November 19. Monsieur Espinosa had a benefit at the Metropolitan Theater, on which occasion the pantomime of *Jocko* was produced.

November 20. The Nicaragua Company's S. S. *Sierra Nevada* arrived, twelve days from San Juan, bringing news that contradicted the report that Sebastapol was taken —and of the discovery of the remains of Sir John Franklin and his party near Fox River. They were supposed to have died of starvation while on their way overland to the Hudson's Bay Company's settlements. The Common Council adopted a resolution requiring the City Assessor to proceed forthwith and make an assessment of all the taxable property within the city, a requirement rendered necessary because the Council had hitherto adopted the assessments made by the County Assessors, a course of procedure which, by the ruling of Judge Norton, in a case brought before him to test the validity of a tax title, was declared to be illegal. The *New World* and *Queen City*, while on the passage from Sacramento, came in collision, inflicting some damage to the latter.

November 21. Christy's Minstrels, who have been performing for some time past to crowded houses, gave a farewell concert preparatory to a tour in the interior. The U. S. steam frigate *Mississippi*, Captain S. S. Lee, arrived in eleven days from Honolulu. The proprietors of many of the drinking saloons of the city held a meeting for the purpose of considering the propriety of abolishing "free lunches."

November 22. In the matter of the stands on Leidesdorff Street, it was agreed by the parties in the suits to submit one case to a jury, and that the decision of that case should be final for all the others. The proprietors of the drinking saloons had another meeting upon the question of abolishing free lunches, but could come to no conclusion. A number of trees were planted in Portsmouth Square. The Russian flag was run up, and a salute of twenty-one guns was fired on board the American ship *Zenobia* in honor of the achievement at Petropaulowski and the failure at Sebastopol, and a salute of seven guns as a token of respect to the Russian Consul Kostromitinoff, by whose direction the commemoration was made. The courts adjourned in token of respect to the memory of Ambrose Gorham, Esq., late Associate Justice of the Court of Sessions, who died the day previous. A number of dogs, which infested Clay Street near Kearny, were poisoned by some unknown hand; their dying agonies attracted a large number of spectators.

November 23. Thanksgiving Day. The banking houses and principal places of business were closed. Religious services were performed in the churches; the City Guards and San Francisco Blues paraded, and the day was passed by every one as it best suited his humor. Three little children were found on Jackson Street Wharf weeping bitterly. One was nine, one seven, and the other five years of age. They gave but an unsatisfactory account of themselves, but were kindly cared for by the proprietor of the "Bunch of Grapes."

November 24. The case of the contested election of Alderman James T. Hyde, in the First Ward, was decided in favor of the incumbent, and a resolution was passed declaring Alderman Hyde entitled to his seat. The steamship *Uncle Sam* left, carrying treasure to the amount of $855,752. By a statement in the *Herald*, it appeared that there had been shipped from the State, during the month of November, $5,276,562.59. Lee & Marshall's Circus commenced performing on the vacant lot on Jackson Street near the International Hotel.

November 25. A writ of *habeas corpus* was issued from the Twelfth District Court on behalf of John Lynkeus Nystrom and Johan Reubold Blom, Russian prisoners of war on board the prize ship *Sitka*, on the ground that they were illegally restrained of their liberty because they had been taken from a place within the possessions of Great Britain, brought to and held in custody in a place within the jurisdiction of the State of California. Madame Anna Bishop had a benefit at the Metropolitan, on which occasion she appeared as Fra Diavolo, in the opera of that name, and was assisted by Mrs.

Sinclair, as a vocalist in the character of Zerlina. Commander Buchanan, of the U. S. steam frigate *Susquehanna*, was brought before the Recorder on a charge of maliciously and willfully imprisoning one of his seamen named Joseph S. Chapman. The Recorder dismissed the case on the ground that the Court had no jurisdiction in the matter, inasmuch as it was proven that the alleged false imprisonment was by order of a superior officer. A meeting of the Bar was held for the purpose of taking into consideration a resolution adopted by the Board of Assistant Alderman for the removal of the Law Library from the City Hall. A committee of five was appointed to take charge of the subject and report at some future meeting. A number of trees, among which are the green bay, redwood, and mansenita [sic], were set out in the triangular plats of Portsmouth Square. The paving of Montgomery Street, from California to Clay Street, was completed and opened to travel. The U. S. revenue cutter, *W. L. Marcy*, Captain Cornell, arrived from Monterey on a cruise.

November 26. A race came off on the Union Course between the celebrated pacers, "Joe Wilson," "Daniel Webster," and "Lady Mac," mile heats, best three in five, in harness, for a purse of $250, which was won by "Joe Wilson" in 2.31. Mr. William Wheeler, known as the "Western Walker," completed the task of walking one hundred and one consecutive hours. The pilot boat *Dancing Feather*, Captain Fowler, arrived from the wreck of the *Yankee Blade* with four boxes containing treasure to the value of $68,000 which had been recovered from that ill-fated vessel. Rt. Rev. Bishop Kip confirmed twenty-one persons as members of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Rolla Powers, charged with the murder of Daniel Hoover in September, 1853, and arrested a short time since as he was about to leave for the Atlantic States, was acquitted by a jury summoned to try the case in El Dorado County. The Russian prize ship *Sitka* sailed out of the harbor, carrying with her the Russian prisoners, in defiance of the writ of *habeas corpus* which had been served upon her.

November 27. The Board of Aldermen passed an ordinance creating a Police Fund of $1,000 for contingent expenses in arresting persons at large charged with crime. The Fifth anniversary of the San Francisco Bible Society was held at the First Congregational Church—Rev. S. H. Willey presiding. Rev. F. Buel read a report, from which it appeared that during the past year there had been issued by the Society, in the English language, 2,360 Bibles and 2,865 Testaments; and in foreign languages, 312 Bibles and 275 Testaments; making a total issue of 5,812. A report of the Chief Engineer, published in the *Alta*, showed the expenses of the Fire Department during the past year to have been $153,559.21. There are fifty-five cisterns, estimated to contain 1,742,000 gallons of water. The engines belonging to the city are Empire, No. 1; Howard, No. 3; Knickerbocker, No. 5; Pacific, No. 8; Vigilant, No. 9; Crescent, No. 10; and Columbian, No. 11; and those belonging to individual companies are Manhattan, No. 2; California, No. 4; Monumental, No. 6; Pennsylvania, No. 12; and Volunteer, No. 7; making a total of twelve fire engines in good order and ready for active service. The hook & ladder companies are St. Francis, No. 1; Lafayette, No. 2; and Sansome Hook & Ladder, No. 3, belonging to F. W. Macondray, Esq.

November 28. Hon. C. K. Garrison, late Mayor of the city, was honored with a complimentary dinner and a presentation of solid gold plate, as a testimonial of regard for his private worth and social qualities, by a number of his fellow-citizens.

November 29. A large lump of gold, weighing 160½ pounds, was said to have been brought to the city and deposited at Adams & Co.'s Express Office.

November 30. A fire broke out in the Pacific Brewery, corner of Second and Jessie streets, and consumed property to the value of $35,000. A little boy, the son of Mr. Charles Carter, was burned to death. An indignation meeting of the electors of the

First Ward opposed to J. T. Hyde holding his seat as Alderman was held at Chauviteau's Building, corner of Pacific and Battery streets. A number of resolutions were passed, denying Mr. Hyde's claim to American citizenship, protesting against the mode of his election and the course of those Aldermen who decided in favor of its legality, and approving of that of those who did not. A committee was appointed to wait upon the gentleman with a copy of the resolutions and request him to resign. A statement in the *Herald* showed that the value of real estate in the County of San Francisco, upon which State and County taxes were levied, was $35,796,475, and the said taxes amounted to $610,330.74.

December 1. The P. M. S. S. *Sonora* left for Panama, carrying treasure to the value of $1,851,375.56. The P. M. S. S. *John L. Stephens* arrived, fourteen days from Panama, bringing the mails and a large number of passengers. A second indignation meeting of the First Ward electors was held at the corner of Pacific and Battery streets, which, after several indignant speeches, adjourned in procession to the City Hall, where they gave three groans for the offensive alderman. At a meeting of the members of the Bar to consider the propriety of transferring the possession of the Law Library to an association of the profession, the committee reported that Mr. Olds had offered to sell the same for $17,000, and that the only practicable method of effecting the object of the meeting was to form a corporation under the statute, the members of which should pay $100 initiation fee, or $250 for life membership, thereupon becoming stockholders, the money so raised to be used in the purchase of the Library, and should be subject to a monthly tax to defray its expenses. The report was accepted, and a committee appointed to obtain subscribers to the proposed association. In the case of F. Argenti *vs.* The City of San Francisco, involving the affair of the Harding Constable Sale of City Property, Judge John Satterlee intimated that, though not interested in the case itself, he was in some questions involved in it, and that he would prefer to have it transferred to another Court. It was, by agreement of counsel, transferred to that of the Twelfth District.

December 3. The Baptist Church, situated on Bush Street, above Dupont, was dedicated. Rev. Mr. Rollinson preached the dedication sermon. Rev. Messrs. Brierly, Briggs, Willis, Pierson, and Bannister officiated in the proceedings.

December 4. Burgoyne & Co. moved to their new banking house on the corner of Battery and Washington streets. Charles P. Duane was re-elected Chief Engineer by the Firemen by 189 majority. The third meeting of the indignant citizens of the First Ward was held, and a committee was appointed to obtain signatures to a protest against Alderman Hyde's retaining his office. The new American Theater was opened; an address written by Mr. Frank Soulé to commemorate the event was read by Mr. Neafie, the manager. The plays were *The Rivals* and *The Two Bonnycastles*. A large audience was in attendance. The Grand Jury for the November term called attention to the Chinese brothels and gambling houses as nuisances not to be tolerated; praised the condition of the County Jail, and recommended that prisoners for long terms be made to work upon the streets; applauded the practice, results and condition of the common schools; deemed the County Building Fund scrip illegally issued and thought it should not be paid; decided that the basement and several other rooms of the City Hall were entirely unfit for the purposes for which they are used; directed attention to the effect the filling in of water lots was having upon the business between the wharves and the harbor; praised the cleanliness and good order of the State Marine Hospital, but suggested that a better location should be found for it; considered the condition of the county roads, and the manner in which the contracts for constructing them had been fulfilled; paid a high compliment to the Orphan Asylum; and returned thanks for kind and gentlemanly treatment received from the Court, District Attorney H. H. Byrne, and Officer Ryan.

[*To be continued*]

WESTERN HISTORY

*A Check List of Recent Items Relating to California and the West**

ALTROCCHI, JULIA COOLEY

Snow covered wagons: a pioneer epic. The Donner party expedition, 1846-1847. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. xxiii+202 pp. incl. roster and brief biographies of the Donner party, roster of the relief parties, end paper maps.

ATKINSON, FRED W.

The Argonauts of 1769: a narrative of the occupation of San Diego and Monterey by Don Gaspar de Portolá. Watsonville, California: Pajaronian Press, 1936. 166 pp. incl. index and bibliog., ills.

BOOK CLUB OF CALIFORNIA [pub.]

The letters of Western authors. San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1935. 12 letters in facsimile, printed by various California firms.

BROOKS, CHARLES S.

A western wind. With pictures drawn in pen and ink by Mary Seymour Brooks. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, c. 1935. 158 pp. [Essays on Carmel, Monterey, Santa Barbara, and other California places.]

CAROLAN, HERBERT

Motor tales and travels in and out of California. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1936. 241 pp., ills.

DOBIE, CHARLES CALDWELL

San Francisco tales. Introduction by Katharine Fullerton Gerould. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1935. 375 pp.

GARRARD, LEWIS H.

Wah-to-yah & the Taos Trail. Prairie travel and scalp dances, with a look at Los Rancheros from muleback and the Rocky Mountain campfire. A new introduction by Carl I. Wheat, and illustrated from blocks designed and cut by Mallette Dean. San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1935. 289 pp.

GILL, FRANCES

Chloe dusts her mantel: a pioneer woman's idyl. New York: The Press of the Pioneers, 1935. 88 pp. [Fiction based on history of the early Methodist missionaries in Oregon.]

HOWELL, JOHN

California in the fifties: fifty views of cities and mining towns in California and the West, originally drawn on stone by Kuchel & Dresel and other early San Francisco lithographers. Introduction & explanatory text by Douglas S. Watson. San Francisco: John Howell, 1936.

KUBLER, A. E.

Johann August Sutter in der Deutschen Literatur. Rep. from *Monatschefte für Deutschen Unterricht*, Vol. XXVII, No. 4, April, 1935. 9 pp.

LAMPSON, ROBIN

Laughter out of the ground. A novel in cadence. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935. 344 pp.

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* Readers will confer a favor by furnishing out-of-the-way items for notice in this department. We shall cite books, pamphlets, broadsides, magazines and important newspaper articles of historical value. Send to the Secretary the items themselves or a card with the title written in the form used here.

LOWIE, ROBERT H.
The Crow Indian. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., c. 1935. xxii+350 pp. incl. index and glossary, ills.

MACK, EFFIE MONA
Nevada: a history of the State from the earliest times through the Civil War. Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1936. 495 pp. incl. index and bibliog., ills.

MEIGS, PEVERIL, 3D
The Dominican mission frontier of Lower California. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1935. 231 pp. incl. index and bibliog., ills.

OLDER, MRS. FREMONT
Savages and saints. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, c. 1936. 372 pp. [Fiction based on facts.]

OTERO, MIGUEL ANTONIO
The real Billy the Kid. With new light on the Lincoln County War. Illustrated from photographs. New York: Rufus Rockwell Wilson, Inc., 1936. xiii+200 pp. incl. index.

PALMER, MRS. SILAS H., comp.
Vignettes of early San Francisco homes and gardens. San Francisco: San Francisco Garden Club, c. 1935.

PETERS, HARRY T.
California on stone. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday Doran & Company, 1935. 227 pp., illustrated by 112 reproductions of early lithographs.

PHILLIPS, CATHERINE COFFIN
Jessie Benton Frémont: a woman who made history. San Francisco: John Henry Nash, 1935. 361 pp. incl. index and bibliog., ills.

ROLLINS, PHILIP ASHTON
The cowboy: an unconventional history of civilization on the old-time cattle range. Revised and enlarged edition. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936. xx+402 pp. incl. index and notes on text, ills.

SHALER, WILLIAM
Journal of a voyage between China and the Northwestern Coast of America, made in 1804. Introduction by Lindley Bynum. Illustrations by Ruth Saunders. Claremont, California: Saunders Studio Press, 1935. 108 pp.

SHIRLEY, JAMES CLIFFORD
The redwoods of coast and Sierra. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936. 74 pp., incl. bibliog., ills.

SIMPSON, LESLEY BYRD
An early ghost town of California: Branciforte. San Francisco: privately printed by Harry W. Porte, 1935. 12 pp., ills.

STEWART, GEORGE R., JR.
The drama in a frontier theater. Rep. from *The Parrott Presentation Volume*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1935. 22 pp.

——Ordeal by hunger: the story of the Donner party. With drawings by Ray Boynton, maps and other illustrations. New York: Henry Holt and Company, c. 1936. xii+328 pp. incl. index, notes, bibliog., roster and itinerary of the Donner party.

Tallack, William

The California overland express, the longest stage-ride in the world. With an introduction by Carl I. Wheat and a check list of published material on the Butterfield Overland Mail by J. Gregg Layne. Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, Special Publication No. 1, 1935. 85 pp., ills.

Torrey, Frederick Cheever

Sierra bird notes. Berkeley: The Professional Press, 1935. 40 pp., ills.

Webb, Walter Prescott

The great plains. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1936. xv+525 pp. incl. index and chapt. bibliog., ills.

Wilson, Neill C.

Treasure express: epic days of the Wells Fargo. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. 322 pp. incl. index, ills.

Wiltsee, Ernest A.

The various expresses of the various Tracys. Rep. from The Collectors Club Philatelist, Vol. XIV, No. 3, July, 1935. 16 pp., ills.

Woodson, Warren N.

The trail of the trail blazers. Corning, California: Rotary Club of Corning, 1935. 26 pp. [Sacramento Valley.]

Arizona Historical Review

April, 1936, contains: "A project for Exploration Presented by Juan Bautista de Anza," by Donald Rowland.

The Californian (Carmel newspaper)

Weekly issues through March, April and May contain a column entitled "Californiana from Old Files and Other Sources."

The Commonwealth

May 12, 1936, contains: "Changes in California Wild Life Since the White Man," by Dr. E. P. Meinecke.

Gold Rush Days

Vol. I, No. 1 contains: "Immigrants," "Early Day Ships," "Sacramento," "Stockton," "Tom Maguire," and "Edwin Booth," all by Louise Taber.

Grizzly Bear

January, 1936, contains: "Havens for Whalers," by Adele Ogden. February, 1936, contains: "Wolfskill Expedition to California, 1830-1831," by John A. Hussey; "Guardian of Sacramento Frontier," by Milford R. Pribble. March, 1936, contains: "Meaning of the Indian Napa," by Rev. Thomas J. McKeon. May, 1936, contains: "The History of Santa Cruz," by Rev. Thomas J. McKeon.

The Masterkey

January, 1936, contains: "Obsidian Used by Prehistoric Californians," by Edwin F. Walker. May, 1936, contains: "A Ceremonial Site at Porter Ranch, San Fernando," by Edwin F. Walker.

Oregon Historical Quarterly

March, 1936, contains: "Hudson's Bay Company in California," by Alice B. Maloney.

Overland Trails

January, 1936, contains: "Wells Fargo: Great Name of Western Finance and History," by Zoe A. Battu.

PACIFIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

March, 1936, contains: "Dimitry Zavalishin: Dreamer of a Russian-American Empire," by Anatole G. Mazour; "Lincoln's Administration and the New Almaden Scandal," by Leonard Ascher; "A Southern Transcontinental Railroad into California: Texas and Pacific versus Southern Pacific, 1865-1885," by Lewis B. Lesley.

PACIFIC NORTHWEST QUARTERLY

January, 1936, contains: "Code Making in Early Oregon," by Arthur S. Beardsley; "Lumbering and Logging in the Puget Sound Region in Territorial Days," by Iva L. Buchanan.

PONY EXPRESS COURIER

January, February, May, and June, 1936, contain: "California Landmarks," by E. D. Holden, and "82 Years Ago This Month," by Robert Burdette Bowers. January, 1936, contains: "Facts About James Wilson Marshall," by Francis Fairchild; "The Wreck of the Steamer San Francisco," by Lt. C. S. Winder; "Black Bart the Mythical and His Impersonator," by Allin L. Rhodes. February, 1936, contains: "Snowshoe Thompson," by Francis Fairchild; "Early Days on the Golden Yuba," by Capt. Harry L. Wells; "The Benevolent Czar—John McLoughlin," by Richard G. Montgomery. March, 1936, contains: "The Butterfield Overland Mail," by Joan Goodnight Joyce; "A Man [Pacheco], a Dog, and a Holiday [Christmas, 1862]," by Julian Dana. April, 1936, contains: "The Pony Express Service and Harry Roff," by Francis Fairchild. May, 1936, contains: "The Placerville Academy," by Will O. Upton; "The Capture of Black Bart," by Mrs. Minnie Gilmore. June, 1936, contains: "Sutter the Man," by Julian Dana; "Squatter Troubles in San Francisco."

THE RAMBLER

January, 1936, contains: "Early and Modern Sacramento," by Rosella B. Mattmueller. February, 1936, contains: "The Spanish Missions of Southern California," by Ernest McGaffey.

SIERRA CLUB BULLETIN

February, 1936, contains: "Personal Recollections of John Muir," by William A. Magee; "The Story of Mount Whitney (Part III)," by Francis P. Farquhar.

WESTWAYS

January, 1936, contains: "From Hangtown Came Our Skis," by Howard Kegley; "The Horses of the Hidalgos," from *A Tour of Duty in California,* by Joseph Warren Revere. February, 1936, contains: "Cortés Discovers California," from *A Natural and Civil History of California,* by Miguel Venegas. March, 1936, contains: "A Tramp Abroad in Pastoral California," from *Afoot and Alone,* by Stephen Powers. April, 1936, contains: "When Sea-Birds' Eggs Fed San Francisco," by Franklin Walker; "How I Found Gold at Sutter's Mill," by James Wilson Marshall, from *Century Magazine,* February, 1891; May, 1936, contains: "The Twelve Flags That Have Flown Over California," by Phil Townsend Hanna; "To Washoe for Silver," from *Crusoe's Island: a Ramble in the Footsteps of Alexander Selkirk,* by J. Ross Browne.

YOSEMITE NATURE NOTES

March, 1936, contains: "C. E. Watkins, One of the Early Photographers of Yosemite," by M. E. Beatty. May, 1936, contains: "The Muir of the Nineties," by Theodore S. Solomons.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE DISCOVERY OF THE OREGON TRAIL. Robert Stuart's Narratives of His Overland Trip Eastward from Astoria in 1812-13. From the Original Manuscripts in the Collection of William Robertson Coe, Esq. *To which is added*: An Account of the *Tonquin's* Voyage and of Events at Fort Astoria [1811-12] and Wilson Price Hunt's Diary of His Overland Trip Westward to Astoria in 1811-12. Translated from *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, Paris, 1821. Edited by Philip Ashton Rollins. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935. cxxxvii+391 pp. incl. index, maps, ills., large 8°.

Properly to review this book would require a lengthy discussion of the entire subject of the Astor enterprises and a comparison of this narrative with that of Franchere and with Washington Irving's *Astoria*. The retention in private hands of source material concerning such important matters as the first steps toward American occupation of the Far West is only justified when the owner makes it available to the public, as Mr. Coe has done in this volume. With the brilliant editorship and assistance of Philip Ashton Rollins, the work has been carefully documented, accurate maps of the several journeys have been provided, and an excellent index makes it possible for readers to follow every reference to its original source. The narrative discloses the fact that Stuart was without doubt the first white man to make use of the South Pass in crossing the Rockies. This alone would warrant publication, and makes it a very valuable addition to the literature of the West. The book itself is beautifully printed in large, easily readable type and is handsomely bound in red buckram.

WILLIAM CHAPMAN RALSTON, Courageous Builder. By Cecil G. Tilton. Boston: The Christopher Publishing House [1935]. 474 pp. incl. index, ills.

Ralston's biography could not be written without picturing both the moving events of the sixties and early seventies and the men responsible for them, for he was inextricably involved during that period with all happenings of moment affecting San Francisco's financial and business life. Professor Tilton has recreated a character California counted among its foremost citizens two generations ago. This he has done in a vivid and exhaustive manner, presenting a multitude of documentary evidence. The resulting study is a welcome addition to San Francisco's history. The copious notes and the index make the volume of real value to scholars and students. The printing, illustrating, and binding of the book fall far short of the excellence of the contents.

THE TRUTH ABOUT FREMONT: An inquiry. By Ernest A. Wiltsee. San Francisco: John Henry Nash, 1936. vi+54 pp. incl. index, ills.

There has lately been printed by John Henry Nash, under the above title, an interesting contribution to the controversial Frémont question concerning his actions in California in 1846, from the pen of Ernest A. Wiltsee, a vice-president of the Society. Before the Society's annual meeting held January 22, 1932, Mr. Wiltsee read a paper on this same subject. This he has expanded, adding much new and hitherto unknown material derived from original documents of the time. This beautifully printed volume, bound in paper boards, throws much new light on Frémont's activities.

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

Mr. Neill C. Wilson gave a very entertaining talk on "Treasure Expresses of the Old West" at the Society's luncheon on Tuesday, March 24, at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel. There were fifty members and guests present.

The hordes of young men who rushed to the gold regions soon discovered that homesickness went hand in hand with their adventure, with the result that high premiums were put on mail from home. The earliest one-man letter expresses collected as much as an ounce of gold, or sixteen dollars, for each letter gathered in San Francisco and delivered at the mines. Profits were also to be had in bringing the gold down from the mines for deposit in the city, and there was as well the business of getting supplies in to the miners, often over narrow mountain trails. It was the day of the mule-skinner and bull-whacker with the tremendously rich vocabulary and the long whip so skillfully handled. The express companies of the East soon realized their opportunity, and the rivalries that developed were keen. The panic of 1855, however, left Wells Fargo the lone survivors among the big companies, and they carried on until the railroad did away with the profits of that type of business. In the meantime the "road agents" had been capitalizing on the opportunity presented by so much gold and silver being transported out of the mining regions, and Mr. Wilson told of some of their escapades. While he discredited much of the romantic character which since has been given these men and labelled them continual "nuisances," he credited them with being fair sports and having little resemblance to their modern prototypes, the racketeers who shoot first and rob afterwards. The road agent did little shooting of his victims; in fact is is doubted if the famous Black Bart always had his guns loaded.

The Society held a luncheon meeting on Tuesday, April 28, at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel, with thirty-five members and guests attending. Mr. John Howell, who recently published *California in the Fifties*, gave a talk on early California lithographs. After a brief description of the lithographic process, Mr. Howell pointed out that some of the finest material illustrative of California after the American occupation is to be found among the early lithographs. In the fifties, the firm of Kuchel & Dresel turned out a series of lithographed views of cities and towns in California, and a few in Washington and Oregon. Certain of these views have turned up in the past, but about a year ago what is apparently a complete set was discovered in a desk formerly belonging to Henry Kenitzer, a prominent architect in the fifties and sixties and a friend of the two men who produced this remarkable series. As none of this set bore titles, they were presumably proofs before letters which Kuchel & Dresel had given to Mr. Kenitzer. Feeling that they constituted an

important bit of Californiana, Mr. Howell had them reproduced and issued in book form, with a text by Douglas S. Watson. The work of reproduction was done by A. Carlisle & Company of San Francisco, successors to Britton & Rey, the firm which did the original printing for Kuchel & Dresel. The members attending the luncheon had the opportunity of examining some twenty or thirty of these reproductions which were hung about the room.

Mr. Noel H. Jacks was the speaker at the May luncheon meeting of the Society at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel on Tuesday the nineteenth. Twenty-eight members and guests were present.

Among the thrilling episodes of pioneer days told by Mr. Jacks was one in which the old-fashioned red flannel petticoat served a noble and unusual purpose. A company of emigrants was on the march across the plains one morning, when the outriders saw in the distance a great herd of stampeding buffaloes headed straight in their direction. Mr. Jacks' grandfather, Dr. Porter, hastily had the wagons formed in a triangle with its apex pointed toward the onrushing beasts, commandeered all the red flannel petticoats in the company, and with a flying wedge of brave volunteers set out to frighten the stampeding herd into splitting, so saving the entire wagon train. After settling near Benicia, Mrs. Porter had another narrow escape when, with her two small children, she was besieged within their log cabin by a band of renegade Mexicans bent on plunder and murder. Standing them off at first by throwing boiling water into their faces through the cabin door peep-hole, then smoking them out of the chimney when they tried that entrance, she was about to be burnt out of the cabin, when the United States Cavalry came to her rescue and drove off the marauders.

LAURA R. WHITE

GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY

March 1, 1936, to May 31, 1936

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Barkan, Hans, *Of benefits received and given,* n. p., 1935; [Lilienthal, Jesse], *Watch your margin,* N. Y., 1930; Meigs, Peveril, 3d, *Dominican mission frontier of Lower California,* Berkeley, 1935; Phillips, Catherine C., *Jessie Benton Frémont,* S. F., John Henry Nash, 1935; Ridgeley, Laurence B., *Santa Francesca; Our Lady of the Golden Gate,* S. F., Grabhorn Press, 1935; Saroyan, William, *Inhale & exhale,* N. Y., c. 1936; Setchell, W. A., *Our trees,* S. F., n. d.; Sill, Edward R., *Christmas in California,* S. F., n. d.; and others.

From MRS. E. D. COBLENTZ—Thwaites, R. G., ed., *Early western travels,* Vols. XIX and XX, Cleveland, 1905; Tinkham, E. G., *History of Stanislaus County,* L. A., 1921.

From MR. WILLIAM R. COE—Stuart, Robert (Rollins, P. A., ed.), *Discovery of the Oregon trail,* N. Y., 1935.

From MR. JOHN HOWELL—*California in the fifties,* S. F., 1936.

From MR. ERNEST A. KUBLER—Kubler, E. A., *Johann August Sutter in der Deutschen Literatur* (reprint from *Monatshefte für Deutschen Unterricht*, Vol. XXVII, No. 4).

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER—Engelhardt, Fr. Zephyrin, *Franciscans in Arizona*, Harbor Springs, 1899; idem, *The Holy man of Santa Clara*, S. F., 1909; idem, *San Diego Mission*, S. F., 1920; idem, *Mission San Juan Bautista*, Santa Barbara, 1931; idem, *Santa Barbara Mission*, S. F., 1923; idem, *Mission Santa Ines*, Santa Barbara, 1932; Forbes, Alexander, *The Golden West*, c. 1919; Garrard, Lewis H., *Wah-to-yah*, S. F., Grabhorn Press, 1936; La Pérouse, J. F. G., *Voyage*, Paris [1797] (4 vols. and atlas); Marcou, Jules, *Notes upon the first discoveries of California and the origin of its name*, Washington, 1878; Vance, R. H., *Catalogue of daguerreotype panoramic views in California*, New York, 1851.

From MR. ROBERT WALSH—Harte, Bret, *Tales of the Argonauts*, N. Y., n. d.; idem, *Thankful Blossom*, Boston, 1877; idem, *Drift from two shores, Maruja, By shore and sedge, etc.;* [Jackson], H[elen] H[unt], *Bits of travel*, Boston, 1889; [Wetmore, Clarence J.], *Directory of grape growers and wine makers of California*, Sacramento, 1888.

From MR. ERNEST A. WILTSEE—Wiltsee, E. A., *The truth about Frémont, an inquiry*, S. F., John Henry Nash, 1936.

From MR. W. C. YOUNT—*A brief sketch of the origin of the Yount family in America*, Alliance, Ohio [1936].

NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

From MR. E. F. BUNCH—*The Californian*, Carmel-by-the-Sea, March 26, 1936 (Vol. 4, No. 9) to date.

From EDITORS OF GRASS VALLEY MORNING UNION—Copies of *Grass Valley Morning Union* containing "Observations and Experiences" by Edmund G. Kinyon, from the manuscript of William Bull Meek.

From MR. ROBERT WALSH—*The Booklover's Magazine*, July, 1903 (article on Bret Harte); *Overland Monthly*, October, 1914.

PICTURES

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Two large photographs by Arnold Genthe: "The First Born" and "Merchant with Bodyguard"; large colored lithograph of Santa Cruz (framed); 6 photographs by Rovere Scott of San Francisco and the Bridges; etching by John Stoll: "The Span."

From MR. E. A. BURBANK—Sketch of old cement bridge at Belvedere; reproductions of a view of an air clipper and a sailing vessel, an air clipper and a steamship, Mare-Island Navy-Yard, 1908, all from his own drawings.

From MR. JAMES D. STEWART—Stereoscope views of Clay Street R. R. from Van Ness Avenue, California Street R. R. looking east from Van Ness Avenue, and The Baldwin Hotel.

From MR. ROBERT WALSH—Oil painting of Sausalito, ca. 1888.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—James Rolph, Jr., identification card, Grand Jury, 1909.

From MR. F. J. BOWLEN—Bill of *California Ledger* for advertising for a design for a monument to George H. Hossefross, June 18, 1864.

From MR. J. W. MAILLIARD, Jr.—Agreement between Adolph Mailliard and the North Pacific Railroad Company, June 30, 1875; 47 mining stock certificates, 1863-1878; a letter of Luther Burbank, and other items.

In Memoriam

JAMES W. BARTLETT

1862-1936

JUDGE BARTLETT was born in Junction City, Trinity County, May 15, 1862, and passed away at his home in Weaverville Sunday, March 15, 1936. At the age of nineteen, he entered St. Mary's College in San Francisco, from which he was graduated in 1884. For two years thereafter he attended Hastings Law School, being admitted to the bar in 1886, whereupon he returned to Weaverville where he began his long legal career of forty-two years. For twelve years he served Trinity County as district attorney and in 1902 was elected as superior judge, which position he held until January, 1933, when he retired on account of failing health.

Judge Bartlett was an ardent lover of history and the outstanding authority on the early days in Trinity County. His wife, whom he had married in 1890—the former Miss Lavinia R. Brady—died some ten years ago, which circumstance saddened and made lonely the end of his days. The judge was beloved by his Trinity County friends and neighbors and was regarded by all as the county's most distinguished citizen. He is survived by three sisters and a brother, all residents of Oakland: the Misses Martha, Sarah, and Alice, and Charles E. Bartlett, besides a number of nieces and nephews.

ORRA EUGENE MONNETTE

1873-1936

Mr. Monnette was born April 12, 1873, in Ohio where, after attending the public schools, he entered the Ohio Wesleyan University, from which he was graduated in 1895. After a year's preparation, he was admitted to the Ohio bar. In 1903 he removed to Toledo, and in 1912 to Los Angeles where, with his uncle and father, he purchased the American National Bank of Los Angeles, for which he served as attorney and director. His career as banker and organizer of banks, notably the Bank of Italy, later to become the Bank of America, made him an outstanding financial figure in California. He contributed many articles to patriotic, historical, and genealogical journals, was prominent in Masonic circles, and at his passing in February was mourned by a host of close friends and admirers. Mr. Monnette's membership in the California Historical Society dated from 1922. He is survived by his widow and his daughter, Miss Helen Hull Monnette.

PERSONALIA AND MARGINALIA

MR. GEORGE TAYS, whose article on "The Passing of Spanish California" appears in this issue of the *Quarterly*, has consented to write the history of Sonoma. This will be largely a biography of General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, the town's founder, and will form a worthy addition to the series of Histories of California Towns which the Society is publishing. Mr. Earl Ramey's "The Beginnings of Marysville," No. 3 of the series, is on the press; announcements of its publication are now being sent to members.

An invitation has been extended to the members of the Society to visit the Historical Museum of Wells Fargo Bank & Union Trust Co., located on the tenth floor of the bank's office at Montgomery and Market streets in San Francisco, which contains one of the few Wells Fargo stagecoaches extant, an 80-year-old Concord, veteran of the Overland Trail; also the Menendez collection of rare gold formations; early mining tools; relics of the Pony Express; bullet-scarred iron doors from Chinese Camp; reward posters for notorious highwaymen; rare old documents; waybills; franked envelopes; maps; books; and early pictures. The Museum is open from 9 to 5 every business day and from 9 to 12 Saturdays.

Large and important collections of books devoted to California in private libraries are becoming fewer with the years. The latest collection to pass from individual ownership is that of Mr. Robert E. Cowan. The fortunate recipient is the library of the University of California at Los Angeles, which, with this assemblage of rare Californiana, will take its place among the great repositories of Western historical material.

A project is afoot to restore the buildings of the old quadrangle in the Presidio of San Francisco. As yet no settled plan has been formulated to forward this undertaking, but the reconstruction of historical buildings elsewhere in the United States, such as the Alamo in San Antonio, has given several local organizations the idea that the Presidio offers a worthy site for a similar rehabilitation. Today the only building remaining of the former enclosure is the Officers Club. Should the original design be followed, the present parade ground would be entirely occupied. It has been suggested that the headquarters of the local garrison be housed in the projected structure, and that as far as possible the rebuilding be done along the lines of what stood upon this spot during Spanish times. The colored sketch made by Louis Choris of the Kotzebue expedition in 1816 might serve as an inspiration. Should this project take shape, it is hoped that its accomplishment will be achieved by the time the Golden Gate International Exposition—A Pageant of the Pacific is opened in February, 1939.

Dr. Oscar Osburn Winther, whose *Story of San Jose, 1777-1869* was the second of the series of Histories of California Towns published by the Society (now out of print) is the author of *Express and Stage Coach Days in California*, which the Stanford University Press announces for publication this month. This book will cover the period up to 1860, at which date the business ceased to be local and became of national consequence.

The venerable book dealer, Mr. H. A. Johnson, known to many members for his kind and courteous personality, is dead. For years he maintained a shop in San Jose, whence he moved to San Francisco and thence to Berkeley. Leaving no family or relative, more than a mere notice of his passing cannot be given.

Obituaries of William Frederic Badè, John Hays Hammond, and Julien Hart, not having been received up to the time of going to press, will appear in the September number of the *Quarterly*.